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## POLITICAL IDEAS IN *MACBETH* IV. iii.

By LILY B. CAMPBELL

MR. Henry N. Paul has recently published a volume on *The Royal Play of Macbeth* which adds his considerable gleanings to the work of J. Q. Adams and other earlier editors and commentators in proof of the conclusion of Adams that "We have every reason to believe that Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth* to please James I, and at least good reason to believe that he designed the play for a special performance at court." This special performance, Adams reasoned, was given on the occasion of the visit of King Christian of Denmark, the brother of James's queen, in the summer of 1606.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Paul thinks that he can be certain that the date was August 7, 1606.<sup>2</sup> These two writers have been perhaps the most zealous searchers for indications that Shakespeare was writing his play to please the king, noting in how many themes and incidents he was catering to the interests, the prejudices, and the beliefs of the king.

The third scene of the fourth act of the play has received particular attention from innumerable critics in this connection because it contains the description of the king healing the king's evil and is obviously an intrusion directed rather to flattering King James than to building the drama of *Macbeth*. That this scene is made up of three episodes everyone who reads the play is aware. The first is the testing of Macduff. The second is the account of the healing of the king's evil. The third is the news of the killing of Macduff's wife and children brought by Ross which acts as the catalytic agent to produce the decision that

*Macbeth*

Is ripe for shaking, and the powers above  
Put on their instruments.

The scene as a whole has received curiously diverse treatment. Professor Dover Wilson calls it "a scene generally condemned by critics" and quotes Sir Edmund Chambers' judgment of it as "the only tedious one in the play,"<sup>3</sup> while Professor Tillyard finds in it the pivotal point of the drama:

The political theme reaches its full compass in the scene in England, but it is here too that its adjustment to the total world picture is made quite clear . . . Malcolm and Macduff are the instruments of God's all-inclusive order, now at last beginning to reassert itself. Political action happens to be the means through which something that altogether transcends it chooses to work.<sup>4</sup>

I agree with Professor Tillyard in his emphasis upon the scene as a whole, but he seems to me to pass over, as do other commentators, the special signifi-

<sup>1</sup> *Macbeth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), pp. 236, 248-250.

<sup>2</sup> Paul (New York, 1950), pp. 328-330.

<sup>3</sup> *Macbeth* (Cambridge University Press, 1947), p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1944), p. 317.

cance of the first episode. It is in this episode, I believe, that the play's orientation to the now risen sun, King James, is clearly demonstrated. It will be remembered that according to Holinshed when Macduff seeks out Malcolm to tell him of the tyrannical oppression which both nobles and commons are enduring under Macbeth and of their desire to be liberated, Malcolm demurs, being fearful that Macduff may be but another agent of the king spying upon him. He therefore accuses himself of such viciousness as would make him no better than Macbeth. To his assertion of his boundless lust, Macduff replies that there are women enough in Scotland and that he can be satisfied secretly. To his further assertion of his insatiable avarice, Macduff replies that though this vice had lost many kings their lives, just as many had lost both lives and kingdom through lust, still there are gold and riches enough in Scotland to satisfy him. But when Malcolm claims also to be inclined to lies, deceitfulness, and the betrayal of all trust reposed in him, Macduff turns from him to lament the hopelessness of his people. Only then does Malcolm trust Macduff, and confessing that he has "none of these vices before remembered," falls to plotting with him the redemption of his kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

Shakespeare does, it is true, follow Holinshed up to a point, but the fact that he included the episode indicates that he found it useful in the mosaic which he quarried from the various stories of regicide in Holinshed to form *Macbeth*.

In the first place, the testing of Macduff would certainly have been acceptable to the king as following the pattern he had exhumed from the Bible as the pattern by which the people were to be tested as subjects for a king. In *The True Lawe of Free Monarchies* James first proclaimed the king's paternal care for his people and then turned to the consideration of the duty and allegiance that the people owe their king, "the ground whereof" he was to "take out of the words of *Samuel*, dited by Gods Spirit, when God had given him commandement to hear the peoples voice in choosing and anointing them a King." The quotation is from the eighth chapter of I Samuel where Samuel listens to the Lord and follows then His commandment:

- 9 Now therefore hearken to their voice: howbeit yet testifie unto them, and show them the manner of the King, that shall raigne over them.
- 10 So *Samuel* tolde all the wordes of the Lord unto the people that asked a King of him.
- 11 And he said, This shall be the maner of the King that shall raigne over you: he will take your sonnes, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horsemen, and some shall runne before his Charet.
- 12 Also, hee will make them his captaines over thousands, and captaines over fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harvest, and to make instruments of warre, and the things that serve for his charets:
- 13 Hee will also take your daughters, and make them Apothicaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.
- 14 And hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give them to his servants.

<sup>5</sup> The passages from Holinshed relevant to this scene will be found in W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakespeare's Holinshed* (New York, 1896), pp. 37-40.



- 15 And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your Vineyards, and give it to his Eunuches, and to his servants.
- 16 And he will take your men servants, and your maidservants, and the chiefe of your yong men, and your asses, and put them to his worke.
- 17 He will take the tenth of your sheepe: and ye shall be his servants.
- 18 And ye shall cry out at that day, because of your King, whom ye have chosen you: and the Lord God will not heare you at that day.
- 19 But the people would not heare the voice of *Samuel*, but did say: Nay, but there shall be a King over us.
- 20 And we also will be like all other Nations, and our King shall judge us, and goe out before us, and fight our battels.

Insisting that since these discourses are a part of the Scripture, and since the Scripture was "dited by Gods Spirit" and may not be denied by Christians, James scorns any idea that Samuel was uttering a prophecy of Saul's future defection:

But by the contrary it is plaine, and evident, that this speech of *Samuel* to the people, was to prepare their hearts before the hand to the due obedience of that King, which God was to give unto them; and therefore opened up unto them, what might be the intollerable qualities that might fall in some of their kings, thereby preparing them to patience, not to resist to God's ordinance: but as he would have said; Since God hath granted your importunate suit in giving you a king, as yee have else committed an error in shaking off Gods yoke, and over-hastie seeking of a King; so beware yee fall not into the next, in casting off also rashly that yoke, which God at your earnest suite hath laid upon you, how hard that ever it seeme to be: For as ye could not have obtained one without the permission and ordinance of God, so may yee no more, for hee be once set over you, shake him off without the same warrant. And therefore in time arme yourselves with patience and humilitie, since he that hath the only power to make him, hath the onely power to unmake him; and ye onely to obey, bearing with these straits that I now foreshew you, as with the finger of God, which lieth not in you to take off.

And will ye consider the very wordes of the text in order, as they are set downe, it shall plainly declare the obedience that the people owe to their King in all respects.<sup>6</sup>

The king argues the matter at length, the theme of his argument always being that though Samuel warned the Jews "what points of justice and equitie their king will breake in his behaviour unto them," he made clear that their duty of obedience would remain the same.

Again and again in James's discourses on political matters he grounds his belief in the divine right of kings to continue as kings without interference from a suffering people on arguments from this and from other passages in Samuel, especially I Samuel 24. 6-18, where David refuses to harm Saul, the Lord's

<sup>6</sup> *The Political Works of James I.* Reprinted from the edition of 1616 with an introduction by C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 56-58. I have here and elsewhere printed the letters *u* and *v*, *i* and *j* in accordance with modern usage. *The Trew Law* was first published in 1598. For editions of James's works see McIlwain, pp. ciii-civ.

anointed.<sup>7</sup> It seems to me that when Shakespeare chose to include this section of Holinshed's account which appears a mere cumbrance to modern readers, he had clearly in mind his king's predilection for this testing of the people.

I said that Shakespeare followed Holinshed up to a point in this scene, but as both Professor Wilson and Mr. Paul have pointed out, when Malcolm sums up his pretended deficiencies, he omits the charge of lying and dissimulation and substitutes an all-inclusive denial of virtue without benefit of Holinshed:

But I have none: the king-becoming graces,  
As justice, verity, temperance, stableness,  
Bounty, perseverance, mercy lowliness,  
Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude,  
I have no relish of them; but abound  
In the division of each several crime,  
Acting it many ways. Nay, had I power, I should  
Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,  
Uproar the universal peace, confound  
All unity on earth.

Since a little later Malcolm withdraws the accusation of falsity with which he has not charged himself in the play as we have it, Professor Wilson is interested in this passage as clearly indicative of revision in the play.<sup>8</sup> But Mr. Paul goes further, asking, "Why did the dramatist thus desert his source in Holinshed, excise from the play the charge of lying, and substitute this new subject matter?" The answer is found, he thinks, in an account of the events of July 17, 1606, when King James and King Christian listened to a Latin speech penned by John Marston greeting them as they paused to behold the pageant erected in Cheapside in their honor. According to Stowe it was Concordia who spoke to them praising "the heavenly happiness of peace and unitie among Christian princes," but unfortunately the crowd was so unruly that the kings could not hear her speech "although they inclined their ears very seriously thereunto." Among those riding in the royal procession that day were King James's grooms of chamber, of whom Shakespeare was one, and Mr. Paul argues quite convincingly that the incident with its emphasis on concord, peace, and unity, and with its description of the uproarious crowd is reflected in the closing lines of the speech, though such inference suggests that the grooms of the chamber had better ears than their majesties.<sup>9</sup>

But it seems to me of greater significance that Malcolm substituted for his self-accusation of lying the list of "king-becoming graces," a matter which the king was forever expounding. In Holinshed Malcolm notes that lying "overthroweth" the virtues such as constancy, verity, truth, and justice which are comprehended in "soothfastness," virtues which are becoming to a prince.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 60, 213 et passim.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>9</sup> Paul, pp. 360-365.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, p. 91, notes these lists briefly but gives only a partial list from the *Basiliſon Doron* and does not discuss the matter.

But in the play of *Macbeth* Malcolm argues:

the king-becoming graces,  
As justice, verity, temperance, stableness,  
Bounty, perseverance, mercy lowliness,  
Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude,  
I have no relish of them; . . .

As I have said, James was never tired of discussing the kingly virtues, but the *Basiliſon Doron* was the great repository of such considerations, being written as it was for the instruction of his son in matters of kingship. The first of the three books which comprised the work dealt with a king's duty toward his God, the second with his duty to his subjects, the third with his behavior in matters to be judged on the basis of expediency rather than on moral grounds. The second book considers those public virtues which distinguish the good king from the tyrant, the theme which is always present in *Macbeth*, as many commentators have pointed out. The list of such virtues is worth comparing with those which Malcolm affects to lack. First James notes that he does not need to write of the four cardinal virtues, "it is so trodden a path," but he nevertheless advises his son to make temperance queen of all the rest and to use temperance even in justice which is "the greatest vertue that properly belongeth to a Kings office." Then he adds: "And as I said of Justice, so say I of Clemencie, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Constancie, Humilitie, and all other Princely vertues; *Nam in medio stat virtus*." And always there must be the devotion to religion which is the foundation of all. Justice and temperance and devotion are common to the two lists; James's clemency becomes mercy in Malcolm's list; humility becomes lowliness; liberality becomes bounty; constancy is equated with stableness; and magnanimity as James explains it is the equivalent of patience, consisting of not being vindictive, "emptying over your owne passion," triumphing in forgiveness but using wrath when justice demands. Shakespeare did not, of course, merely transform James's advice into blank verse, but in his "king-becoming graces" the "princely vertues" of King James bear sway.

Another matter should, I think, be emphasized in this episode, for here Malcolm is recognized as being the rightful king of Scotland as "the truest issue of thy throne." It is well to recall that James insisted that

the duty and allegiance, which the people sweareth to their prince, is not only bound to themselves, but likewise to their lawfull heires and posterity, the lineall succession of crowns being begun among the people of God, and happily continued in divers christian common-wealths: So as no objection either of heresie, or whatsoever private statute or law may free the people from their oath-giving to their king, and his succession, established by the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome: For, as hee is their heritable over-lord, and so by birth, not by any right in the coronation, cometh to his crowne; it is a like unlawful (the crowne ever standing full) to displace him that succeedeth thereto, as to eject the former: For at the very moment of the expiring of the king reigning, the nearest and lawfull heire entreth in his place: And so to refuse him, or intrude another,

is not to holde out uncomming in, but to expell and put out their righteous King.<sup>11</sup>

It has been noted that the description of Duncan as "a most sainted king" and of Malcolm's mother as one who "Oft'ner upon her knees than on her feet,/Died every day she liv'd," is one which James would have accepted approvingly, and that the general picture of Duncan is a more flattering one than that offered by Holinshed.

It is my contention that this episode touching upon the obedience due even to a bad king if he is the lineal heir to the throne, distinguishing those virtues which adorn the good king and those vices which mark the tyrant, noting the concord and peace and unity which should mark the reign of the good king, and stressing the right of the true issue of the throne to claim his kingdom against the usurper is directed to expounding the pet political ideas of Shakespeare's king. Its place, therefore, in the consideration of the play as written especially for the pleasuring of the king seems to me a much more considerable one than has generally been recognized.

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<sup>11</sup> Mellwain, p. 69.

## THE NORTHERN STAR: AN ESSAY ON THE ROMAN PLAYS

By ROY WALKER

ONE Sunday afternoon at the end of August 1950, those who had access to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon could see upon the stage the handsome permanent set for *Henry VIII*, almost as they had seen it a few hours earlier when Cranmer spoke his final blessing over the infant Queen Elizabeth in what may be the last scene that Shakespeare ever wrote. But now behind the English court was part of a Roman piazza for the next day's performance of *Julius Caesar*, and behind that again the cyclorama was lit with stars twinkling down from a night sky. This accidental vista through history to the heavens was the fortuitous cue for a talk next morning at Mason Croft, the British Council center, where I tried to set those three elements—the English royal scene, Caesar's Rome, and the stars in their courses—on an Elizabethan stage, as it were, and in true Shakespearian perspective.

Shakespeare's idea of Rome was not built in a day, or built at all. Like other living things it was subject to growth and decay, and to trace the course of that organic development is not to impute to the poet a neat plan of construction, conscious from the outset. Nor does the argument assume that related imagery is or always should be apprehended as such by an audience, although it may affect their experience without their knowing it, as do many details in the scoring and performance of a symphony; and it certainly follows that the players and producer, like the orchestra and conductor, cannot ignore these harmonies without damage to their performance.

It happens that Shakespeare's earliest known dramatic writing contains emphatic references to Julius Caesar, all in the same key. Whether we may include the first scene of *1 Henry VI* among Shakespeare's work is more than doubtful, but at least it says what Shakespeare himself said later and reminds us that this was being said by most Elizabethan dramatists. The Duke of Bedford, praying to the spirit of Henry V in Westminster Abbey, declares that his soul will make a far more glorious star than Julius Caesar, and begs him to combat with adverse planets in the heavens to keep England from civil broils. To grasp all the implications of those lines that fall so strangely on the modern ear we should need a very full picture of the Elizabethan world view, and particularly the astrological aspect of it studied by D. C. Allen in *The Star-Crossed Renaissance*, where we should find, for instance, that the great Florentine Platonist Ficino, whose European influence came to rival that of Aquinas, "was quite capable of saying that man is a terrestrial star sheathed in a cloud and that a star is a heavenly man." In Part 2 of the same play, the Duke of Suffolk, about to be killed by ruffians, recalls how "Brutus' bastard hand stabb'd Julius Caesar" and in Part 3 Queen Margaret, groping for the most extreme contrast to express her grief at the slaughter of her royal son, cries out that those who shed Caesar's blood were almost innocent if this foul deed were by to equal it. The

assassination of Julius Caesar is seen as the archetype of dastardly and disastrous murder, a crime that threatens a state with civil war. The dead ruler becomes one with the stars, the visible signs of a divine order over-riding human affairs. Only the royal blood of England is more precious than Caesar's. These are the unmistakable poetic suggestions of the first casual references in the First Folio to Caesar and to Rome. And this is the pattern whose development we shall now very briefly follow through the main Roman plays.

*Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, all mainly based on North's version of Plutarch and belonging to the tragic period between the English histories and the final plays, are known first in the Folio texts. The Folio list of tragedies mentions two other plays, one opening in Rome before the Capitol and almost opening Shakespeare's dramatic career, the other ending with a British king's voluntary submission to Caesar and the Roman Empire, written almost at the end of Shakespeare's life. To forget *Titus Andronicus* and *Cymbeline* is to lose the beginning and end of Shakespeare's Roman theme and the shape he gave to it. Yet the most substantial work on the subject, MacCallum's *Shakespeare's Roman Plays* (1910) mentions both plays only once and quite incidentally.

*Cymbeline*, with a whole succession of happy endings by Shakespeare—and one less happy by Shaw—was misplaced by Heminge and Condell among the tragedies. *Titus Andronicus*, with disasters enough for a dozen tragedies, is equally misplaced. It is strong melodrama, so strong that it is now rarely staged. Yet there is more to *Titus* than horrors. If it is usually overlooked, that is because of the horrors, which go far beyond the Roman tale of *The Rape of Lucrece* whose ordeal, not unlike Lavinia's, Shakespeare was writing about almost simultaneously. The something more is a shadowy idea of Rome that gives the play what unity it has. Whose idea is it? Does it belong to the prose tale discovered in 1936 and said to be the source of the plot? To Peele, or whatever other dramatist first sketched the play? Or is it Shakespeare's and is the whole play his? Whichever answer is right, it may well be the embryo of the idea of Rome that Shakespeare develops in his later Roman plays. In *Titus Andronicus* the threat to Rome is external. Barbarian captives are given power in Rome by Roman folly and jealousies. All is well again when the right man rules, the last son of the hero will

knit again

This scatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf;  
These broken limbs again into one body;  
Lest Rome herself be bane unto herself.

He who had threatened in revenge "to do as much as ever Coriolanus did" is reconciled to Rome, his Goth army at the gate is simply forgotten, and Aaron's blasphemous "was't not a happy star led us to Rome?" is rebuked. In 1593 that was the idea of Rome for the poet who wrote six years later of the assassination of Julius Caesar. By then English history had shown him the fever in the body politic that also made "Rome herself be bane unto herself."

Plutarch's sixteenth-century translators, as Dover Wilson remarks in his 1949 edition of *Julius Caesar*, put the Romans into the doublet and hose of Eng-

lish gentlemen, and thirty years earlier MacCallum had pointed out that Shakespeare himself makes no serious effort to present the ideas and emotions of Rome where these differed from those of Elizabethan London. Just as John Hayward was imprisoned in the year that *Julius Caesar* was written for showing the deposition of Richard II and Shakespeare had to drop that scene from the 1597 and 1598 quartos of his own play, Samuel Daniel found the classical theme of *Philotas* no safer—he was suspected of referring to the Essex revolt four years after the event. Shakespeare had to be careful how he told of political assassination far away and long ago. To show the killing of Caesar as other than a catastrophic crime might itself have been a capital offence.

Despite this, and the still more important evidence of the play itself, we tend to treat it as disrespectfully as North and Shakespeare dealt with Plutarch, by transposing an Elizabethan *Julius Caesar* into the ideological pattern of our own time. Following the example of Orson Welles, London has had productions in which Caesar is a dictator who dies at the hands of Blackshirts, and even Dover Wilson goes too far in contemporary identifications, finding that "the play's theme is the single one, Liberty *versus* Tyranny" with dishonourable mention of Napoleon, the Fuehrer, and the general secretary of the Communist Party. If there is a modern comparison, it is perhaps the world reaction to the assassination of the quasi divine "father of the nation," Mahatma Gandhi. Before two world wars criticism saw more plainly. "Shakespeare makes it abundantly clear," MacCallum wrote, "that the rule of the single master-mind is the only admissible solution for the problem of the time." To read Shakespeare's play otherwise is to set the poetry against itself. The "Liberty *versus* Tyranny" reading even does the lesser service to the free society, since the play indubitably shows the ultimate triumph of "Tyranny."

The famous speech on Order from the almost contemporary *Troilus and Cressida* gives a better indication of Shakespeare's meaning in *Julius Caesar*. That warning of the mutiny that cracks the unity of states "when the planets in evil mixture to disorder wander" is given direct application to Caesar's Rome in Horatio's description of the tumult in the heavens that is the "precurse of fierce events," and is the clue to the meaning of the third scene of *Caesar* which opens, like *Macbeth*, with "Thunder and Lightning." Casca fears that the world incenses the gods to send destruction, and warns the audience not to explain away with natural reasons these portentous things. Cicero observes that, even so, "men may construe things after their fashion, clean from the purpose of the things themselves" and immediately the arch-conspirator Cassius enters to describe how he has deliberately dared the lightning to destroy him. The fault, as he has earlier told Brutus, is not in our stars but in ourselves, and nowadays we jump to the wrong conclusion about those too familiar lines. With biting tragic irony Shakespeare tells us that the fault is indeed not in the stars; what they here foretell is true. The fault is in Cassius. It is fatal to him and to Brutus, who allows himself to be tricked into the murder of the man who, whatever his human failings in age and health, never let his affections sway "more than his reason" and who is, as Caesar "As constant as the northern star."

On his last day, his birthday, his nativity, Cassius changes his mind and can at last "partly credit things that do presage," but it is too late. Again he mis-



takes friend for foe, and this time kills himself. "Men may construe things after their fashion" and wrongly, Cicero had warned. Over Cassius' body Titinius mourns, "Alas, thou hast misconstrued every thing!" Surely the repetition of the poetically unusual word is here eloquent of Shakespeare's own feeling and meaning? The unselfish idealism of Brutus too has been against nature, not unlike the destructive idealism of some of Ibsen's heroes. Rome has been a "bane unto herself" and the end of the story is not yet. Cassius and Brutus quarrelled ere they died. The victorious triumvirate too will fall to discord.

Although several years passed between the writing of *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, the triumvirate appears in both plays and there is something to be said for Lord David Cecil's view that the latter play completes the story, an elaboration of the opinion of Granville-Barker, which has lately been very persuasively expressed by Willard Farnham: "Shakespeare does not organise his tragedy as a drama of the love of Antony and Cleopatra, but as a drama of the rise and fall of Antony in the struggle for world rulership that takes place after he has met Cleopatra." The political side of the play is considerably more than a background against which the tale of passion is played out to its tragic end.

*Julius Caesar* showed the killing of Caesar, the quarrel of the conspirators, their defeat and suicide. *Antony and Cleopatra* shows the fatal quarrel of the victorious triumvirate, the beginnings of imperial disintegration, the downfall of two of the triple pillars, and the final restoration of Octavius as Caesar, "Sole sir o' the world." Caesarism is triumphant. This play too, as Ivor Brown says, "is full of orbs, spheres, planets, sun and moon, compared with which the Earth is but 'a little O.'" In Rome Antony asks the soothsayer whether his fortune or Caesar's will rise higher, and is answered, "Caesar's." Octavius will win against the odds, for "thy lustre thickens when he shines by." And soon Antony comes to the hour

When my good stars, that were my former guides,  
Have empty left their orbs, and shot their fires  
Into the abysm of hell.

As Enobarbus exclaims, "Now he'll out: are the lightning," we may remember the same fatal bravado in Cassius. Before the final battle Caesar's sentinel remarks that "the night is shiny" and that the conflict will be joined in the small hours. The Roman soldier who finds Antony, like Cassius, mortally self-wounded when that starlit battle is lost and won exclaims, "The star is fallen," and when Octavius hears it he laments

that our stars,  
Unreconcilable, should divide  
Our equalness to this.

And as at the time of Caesar's fall the moon, in Horatio's words, "was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse," Antony had seen that sign too and known it was for Caesar's friend, for himself now enemy of another Caesar:

Alack! our terrene moon  
Is now eclipsed; and it portends alone  
The fall of Antony.



With his death "there is nothing left remarkable beneath the visiting moon," and Cleopatra who loved to dress "in the habiliments of the goddess Isis," the goddess of the changeable moon, of whom she was indeed the earthly personification, and whose false eclipse cheated Antony to his death, becomes marble constant,

now the fleeting moon

No planet is of mine.

As she dies with the asp at her breast, Charmian sighs, "O eastern star!" That star too is fallen.

When he has shown the fate of Caesar's assassins and the fall of two of the triple pillars of the world, Shakespeare places Octavius securely in the imperial seat of Rome—to become Augustus. Like Lucius at the end of *Titus Andronicus* he means to order well the state.

In that play Shakespeare had mentioned the revenge of Coriolanus, who may be an earlier figure in Roman history but is a later phase in Shakespeare's idea of Rome. In *Titus* the enemy had been external and Rome guilty of nothing worse than folly. In *Julius Caesar* Rome was struck from within, and in *Antony and Cleopatra* the victors intrigued over a disintegrating empire. Now, in *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare probes a deeper rottenness, the baseness of the people themselves, who banish the best from Rome and thereby destroy Rome from below.

Shakespeare at once shows through now familiar imagery that the revolt of the mob is treason against the divine-natural order. They may as well strike at the heaven with their staves, Menenius scolds, as lift them against the Roman state. Caius Marcius himself acts in crisis with the irresistible power of a heavenly body, strikes Corioli "like a planet" and against that body Aufidius's spear has broken a hundred times "And scarr'd the moon with splinters." When Coriolanus, like Lucius, leads an army of his country's enemies against Rome, and Volumnia, Virgilia, and Valeria ("The moon of Rome"), who are now the last embodiment of its imperishable spirit, kneel to him, he feels the whole order of things reel about him: "Then let the pebbles on the hungry beach fillip the stars"—the heavens open, the gods look down and laugh.

To Cominius, who earlier pleaded—like Abraham pleading with Jehovah—to spare the wicked city for the sake of a few righteous, he had answered that "He could not stay to pick them in a pile of noisome musty chaff." The people's offence is rank, it smells to heaven. The scattered corn of Rome that could be bound by the right ruler into one mutual sheaf in *Titus Andronicus* has now decayed to musty chaff. This is not the least meaning of the famine that racks the people in the first scene of *Coriolanus*, or why "Caius Marcius is chief enemy of the people. . . . Let us kill him and we'll have corn at our own price. Is't a verdict?" The price is the devaluation of ripe corn to musty chaff. The bitter criticism of the mob in *Julius Caesar* has reached its climax in *Coriolanus*, and one wonders what the groundlings thought of it.

Coriolanus, sparing the wicked city for the sake of a few righteous, leaving Rome its few grains of wholesome wheat to satisfy a famine of quality, sacrifices his own life to the unconquerable spirit of Rome, now almost disembodied from

Rome, and in Shakespeare's final part-Roman play to transmigrate to Britain. And as Caesar was become a glorious star, and Antony a fallen star, Coriolanus becomes the earth, into which Rome must let fall its precious grain that it may grow again as alien corn. As "All the people" echo the cry of "All conspirators"—"Let him die for't"—a Volscian nobleman cries peace, "The man is noble and his fame folds-in this orb o' the earth".

In his three major Roman plays, Shakespeare had kept very close to the main facts of history as he found them in North's Plutarch, except for such dramatically essential departures as the introduction of Caesar's ghost. But although Holinshed, his main source for *Cymbeline*, showed that that first-century King of Britain was dead before a general of Augustus—the Octavius Caesar of *Antony and Cleopatra*—came to Britain to enforce the tribute to Rome, Shakespeare transferred these events to the reign of Cymbeline. What he had to say about the relationship of Britain and Rome demanded it, as it also required an audacious and remarkably successful use of anachronism in which Augustan Romans were mixed with such Renaissance Italians as Iachimo, the Machiavellian villain of the piece.

The British, says Posthumus, are more disciplined since Julius Caesar smiled at their lack of skill, while the Romans—as Iachimo's ironical entry here is meant to emphasize—have passed through the Shakespearian phases of folly, in *Titus Andronicus*; civil broils, in *Julius Caesar*; dissipation and disruption, in *Antony and Cleopatra*; and decadence, in *Coriolanus*; issuing in the degenerate Italian brilliance in wrongdoing of Iachimo. Augustus himself is no divine king of true Shakespearian pattern, a lesser figure in *Julius Caesar*, winning only by fate and against the odds in *Antony and Cleopatra*. "There be many Caesars," as Cloten reminds the Roman general, "ere such another Julius." The triple pillars of the ancient world are fallen but for a single broken Roman column.

Yet Julius Caesar conquered Britain and his memory will be immortal. Even in the act of refusing tribute to Rome Cymbeline acknowledges that he was knighted by Rome. And where in Julius Caesar's Rome the soothsayer who warned him of deadly peril was ignored, and Antony too forgot the warning of the soothsayer who taught him to dread Octavius' star, in *Cymbeline* the Roman soothsayer's vision is fulfilled and heeded, the Roman eagle wings from the spongy south to this part of the west and there vanishes in the sunbeams of "the radiant Cymbeline who shines here in the west." The Roman eagles that took flight from Cassius' ensign on the morning of Philippi have come to rest in Britain, where Jupiter descends upon the holy eagle to Posthumus in prison and awaiting death—like Boethius, the last spark of Roman greatness. The divine power behind Rome at last made visible in vision stoops to the soil of Britain. This Romano-British hero is briefly given the usual sanction for his symbolic action. Crossing from the Roman to the British side in the final battle, he has helped to rescue the King when "all was lost, but that the heavens fought." The king's sons too are ranked with Julius Caesar, Antony, and Coriolanus in poetic imagery. A benediction from the heavens is invoked upon them, for they are worthy "to inlay heaven with stars."

So Rome's defeat is also Rome's victory. The Rome of Titus defeated the

Goths, the Rome of Julius Caesar and Antony defeated itself, the Rome of Coriolanus would have fallen to the Volscies but for Roman sacrifice. Now Rome is defeated by Britain, and yet

Although the victor, we submit to Caesar,  
And to the Roman empire. . . .

.....  
Never was a war did cease,  
Ere bloody hands were wash'd, with such a peace.

The bloody hands that Lavinia and Titus lost to the barbarians in Rome, those hands, bathed in Caesar's blood, that the conspirators rendered to Antony (such hands as haunted Shakespeare's imagination, and could not, in *Macbeth*, be washed clean of the bloody stain), the hands that re-enact the murder of Caesar in the killing of Coriolanus, are cleansed at last. From this union of Roman and British royalty sprang the hero-king Henry V, "a far more glorious star . . . than Julius Caesar". We might fancifully see a theatrical celebration of this Shakespearian myth at that Tercentenary Matinee at Drury Lane in 1916 when Frank Benson, still in costume as the spirit of Julius Caesar, was knighted by the King of England, as Shakespeare's British king Cymbeline was knighted in his youth by Caesar's heir.

Was it all the magnificent dream of a patriotic poet? There was another poet, a student at Athens when Caesar was assassinated in Rome, who was probably present at the battle of Actium when Antony was defeated by Octavian, and who shared the victor's friendship and the Augustan visions of Roman greatness. Yet Horace could also write the prophetic Sixteenth Epode to the Roman people, warning that Rome was falling by the might of Rome herself, by civil wars fordome, and calling upon the heroes—"those lacking nerve and hope may keep their beds uncheered by omens nor go hence"—to take ship at once for an Earthly Paradise, the Islands of Abundance. Such Islands as Shakespeare saw in his visions of a transfigured Britain, "This other Eden, demi-paradise." Islands where, as one sat in the Memorial Theatre looking through the Tudor court to the Roman street and the star-lit sky beyond, one seemed to hear Cranmer prophesying over the royal infant, as Virgil once prophesied over another child in the Fourth Eclogue, but in unmistakably Shakespearian tones. He prophesied of a King unborn who shall "star-like rise"—

Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,  
His honour and the greatness of his name  
Shall be, and make new nations: he shall flourish,  
And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches  
To all the plains about him: our children's children  
Shall see this, and bless heaven.

Perhaps it is no more than an overwhelming compliment that James I did not deserve in the event. And perhaps it is much more than that.

London



*A N*  
EXCELLENT  
conceited Tragedie  
O F  
Romeo and Iuliet.

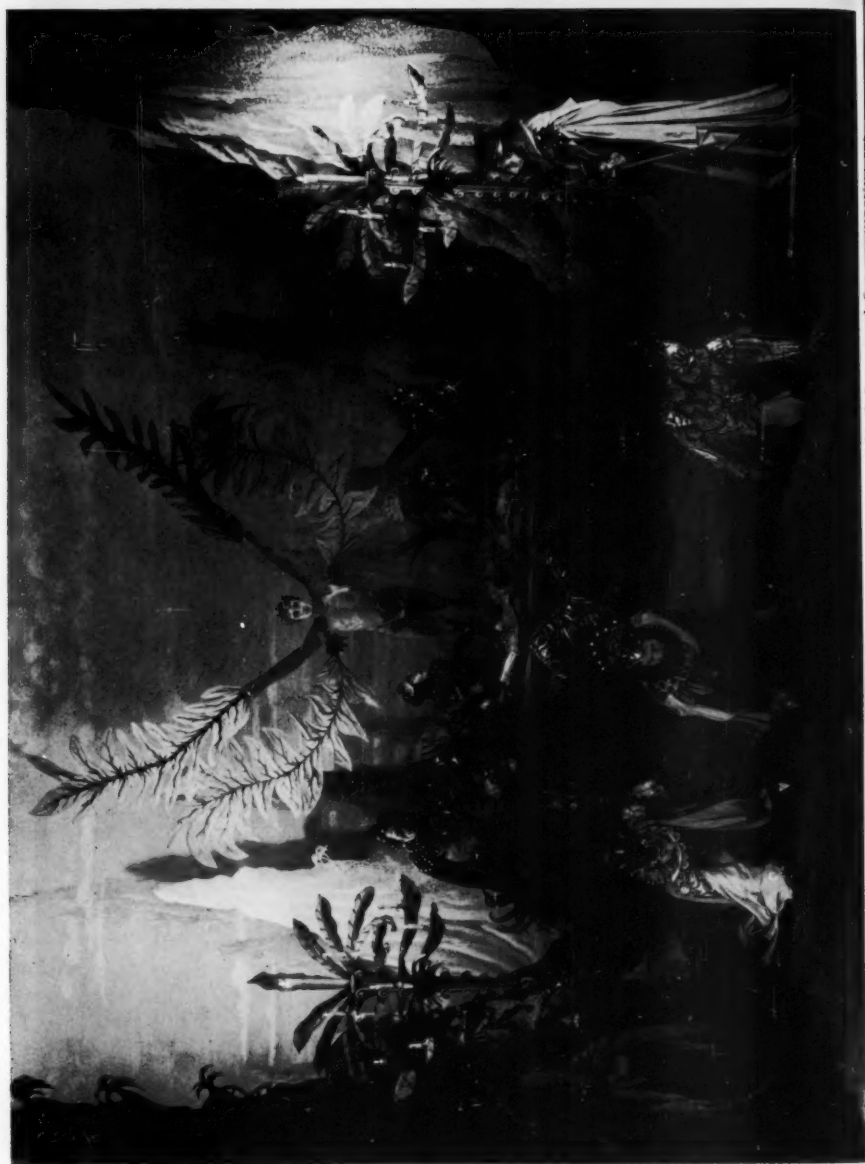
As it hath been often (with great applausē)  
plaid publicquely, by the right Ho-  
nourable the L. of *Hunsdon*  
his Seruants.



LONDON,  
Printed by Iohn Dancer.  
1597



*The Winter's Tale.* Alcoves used for grouping in the final scene. The railing outlines the upper stage.



## NOT FAT OR THIRTY

By ELMER EDGAR STOLL

NOT only most readers but also many critics and editors, it would seem, still take it, however unhappily, that, toward the end of the play at least, the Prince is, in some sense or other, "fat" and "thirty." Exceedingly few of these, moreover, have seen and, so far as I know, every one of them has ignored—when they disagree with you, Sheridan might have said, "their unanimity is wonderful"—the long footnote on the subject in my *Hamlet* (1919), pp. 66-67. I feel, therefore (or nevertheless), somewhat justified in returning to the subject. Not that I have anything to retract or modify, indeed, but a little to add.

On the youthfulness, both declared and apparent, of the student<sup>1</sup> and lover I need not dwell; for Professor Kittredge in his introduction (*Sixteen Plays*, 1946, pp. 969-970) has taken the same position, summoning up the same company of witnesses—Laertes, Polonius, Ophelia, the Ghost, the King, Hamlet himself—the only difference here between us being that he left out Polonius and the Ghost and I Laertes and the Prince, the latter's own word on the subject not seeming to me explicit. And the only difficulty for either the great scholar or me lay in the speeches of the Gravedigger, who took to his trade the day that "our last king o'ercame Fortinbras," "the very day that young Hamlet was born," or, as he says a little later, "thirty years" ago. Shakespeare, however, was no Zahlenmensch, Osterberg,<sup>2</sup> as reported in the *Jahrbuch*, observed in *Hamlets Alter* (1921); and how seriously we are to take the thirty is apparent if we recall that Horatio in the first scene says of the Ghost

Such was the very armour he had on  
When he the ambitious Norway combated;

which would make Horatio, one would think, close to fifty, though now still a fellow-student at Wittenberg and otherwise evidently Hamlet's coeval.

Mr. Kittredge in his explanation of the Gravedigger's words has recourse to misprinting or miscopying as most incident to numerals, at that time often represented not by words but characters, whether Arabic or Roman. But in Shakespeare such factual inconsistencies abound; partly owing to his rapidity in composition and his failure to see his plays through the press; partly to his text's being left at the mercy of player or producer as well as printer; partly,

<sup>1</sup> That, of course, does not mean such a student as at the Wittenberg-Halle of today. Sir Philip Sidney was no doubt precocious, but he entered Oxford at fourteen. And I need not, I suppose, embark upon the subject of longevity in Shakespeare's time compared to ours. Then, as both historians and also scientists know, thirty was still less youthful than now.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ophelia's words "'tis twice two months, my lord," from which Bradley infers that "for two months Hamlet has done absolutely nothing"; along with the dissenting discussion in my *Shakespeare and Other Masters* (1940), pp. 147-148, including references to Granville-Barker, Keller, and my *Hamlet* (1919). And if remote inferences are to be permitted, it is remarkable, as Bulthaupt and others have noticed, that Horatio should have been at court nearly two months without meeting Hamlet (I. ii.176).



we shall see, to still other causes. Quiller-Couch<sup>3</sup> notices that Rosalind is taller than Celia in one passage, shorter in another; that Florizel in *The Winter's Tale* (IV. iv) appears in shepherd's clothes, yet before the end is exchanging a fine court suit for Autolycus' rags. In the first scene of *Othello* Cassio is given a "fair wife," but this is the last we hear of her. In that play, moreover, as well as this now in question and many another besides, the seemingly contradictory time references within the action, short time for dramatic interest and long for plausibility, are somewhat owing to the influence of the original story, or to the exigencies of the moment, or, indeed, to mere inadvertence. And quite apart from time, in the very structure of *Hamlet* itself there are conspicuous loose ends or ragged edges, apparently due, as I have noticed elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> to revision of the plot, particularly, in the Second Quarto, to the postponement of the soliloquy about no traveller returning (inconsistency again!) along with the "nunnery" scene. In Quarto 2, for instance, just as in Quarto 1, at the end of the first scene of the second act, Polonius bids Ophelia go with him to the King with the news of Hamlet's madness; yet in the following scene of Quarto 2, since as a result of the postponement she is now no longer needed, she does not, as expected by the audience, accompany him. And if we are of those who consider curiously, we remember the letter palmed off upon Malvolio.<sup>5</sup>

In general the audience is not expected to make deductions or inductions, and as a dramatist Shakespeare takes, like Lady Macbeth, "the nearest way." The Gravedigger must be old: the turn and whole tenor of his speech require it as well as his singing and joking while he digs. "Custom doth make it in him a property of easiness," Horatio remarks. But why give him this settled and professional character in the first place? To develop, along with the echoing or contrasting questions and answers, the emotional but rather detached and impersonal—the ironical but musical—movement of the scene.<sup>6</sup> That is dominated by the death *motif*, relating to both Ophelia and Hamlet, of which, however, only the audience apparently is aware. For the right emotional effect—now on the brink of disclosure and danger—it is in ignorance that Hamlet here broods and ruminates over Ophelia's grave; and it is really in ignorance and at a distance, though he does know of her fate, that the Gravedigger is now singing, probably but as usual.

O a pit of clay for to be made  
For such a guest is meet.

This, and

That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once,

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare's Workmanship* (1930), pp. 123, 291. Other such inconsistencies Professor Schücking, to whom I am here indebted, has collected or himself observed in his *Character Problems* (1922), pp. 113-119.

<sup>4</sup> *Philological Quarterly*, XXXIV (Oct. 1945), 298-300, "Mainly Controversy."

<sup>5</sup> *Twelfth Night* II. v. 99-100, where in the address the Steward fondly thinks to recognize Olivia's handwriting, but where neither a C nor a P is to be found. Cf. Steevens and Malone in Furness *ad loc.*, Malone saying that "in the repetition of the passages in letters, which have been produced in a former part of a play, Shakespeare very often makes his characters deviate from the words before used, though they have the paper itself in their hands, and though they appear to recite, not the substance but the very words."

<sup>6</sup> This I have endeavored to trace in my *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare*, pp. 133-136.



are the two themes recurring, with or without variation, in which the death *motif* appears. It is all kept remote, impersonal, and in his traditional ditty the old man's voice is as it were that of Nature, as unconscious as the wind is of its wailing. Yet even this impersonal quality must for us be related to Hamlet: he must be reminded of himself as possibly soon to be such a guest yet not seem to see it. He must not sentimentalize though one recent critic says he does: the audience, silently, must do this for him. And to that end further improbability is incurred. The Prince's name comes in naturally enough: it was a red-letter day—that when the sexton began grave-making, that when the old Hamlet overcame Fortinbras and young Hamlet was born—but though sexton here thirty years and (properly in a monarchy) aware of the heir-apparent's birthday, as well as of his madness and his going to England, still, after an absence of only a couple of weeks, he does not recognize him. Story—action—here is in abeyance: Death and its "fine revolution" are now the theme. But in abeyance only: for the audience, on the other hand, there is expectation, anticipation, suspense; and the improbability serves the effect of surprise. That comes when Hamlet breaks in upon Laertes and discloses himself—the shock of Ophelia's death for the Prince, the shock of his return for Laertes and the Court, the half-expected shock at the outburst for the audience.

Now where improbability is so daringly incurred—the greatest I have not yet mentioned—where fact is so little regarded and, in Granville-Barker's phrase elsewhere applied, "effect is all," what place is there for inference or deduction? When we remember the uncertainty of the text and Shakespeare's own frequent inconsistency both here and elsewhere as well as the contrary evidence concerning Hamlet's age on the lips of the other characters, not to mention the impression we directly receive of his youthfulness ourselves, it is about as reasonable to infer from the Gravedigger's word that the years are thirty as from his not recognizing the Prince that he has lost his eyesight, or, for that matter, from the primary and fundamental improbability of the scene, the two friends' dead silence, before as well as after entering, upon recent startling occurrences and discoveries<sup>7</sup>—"repair to me with as much haste as thou wouldst fly death," Hamlet had written—that both have lost their memories.

What justification, then, is there for the dramatist's audacity? In the matters of inconsistency in statement and improbability in situation alike, it is as both Goethe and (in part) Henley have said, emotional effect and the privilege of one writing for the stage, not for print. The heightened emotional effect in the graveyard scene we have already noticed, and (in Quarto 2 and the Folio) surprise and climax are secured by the postponement of the nunnery scene.<sup>8</sup> Thus the chief and decisive test of the Prince's madness comes after that by Polonius alone and that by Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, with (in this case) the veiled threat ("all but one shall live") provoking the King then, as not in Quarto 1, to his veiled resolve, which is made clearer after the Mousetrap, clearer still after the stabbing through the arras. Thus situation comes first, as accord-

<sup>7</sup> Particularly in Quarto 2, by word or letter. In Quarto 1 Hamlet has by letter been more explicit, but, before or since, he has heard nothing from Horatio.

<sup>8</sup> "Mainly Controversy," pp. 298-300.

ing to Aristotle, not character. On January 18, 1825, Goethe remarked to Eckermann "dass die wahre Kraft und Wirkung eines Gedichts in der Situation, in den Motiven besteht"; and by motives he did not, of course, mean the psychological. On April 18, 1827, moreover, as he dealt with the double light in one of Rubens' landscapes he observed "dass die Kunst der natürlichen Nothwendigkeit nicht unterworfen ist, sondern ihre eigenen Gesetze hat. . . . und [der Künstler] darf sogar zu Fiktionen schreiten." Thereupon, though taking up examples of inconsistency by no means so flagrant or irreconcilable as those considered above, he says of Shakespeare, as he cites Lady Macbeth's "I have given suck" and Macduff's "He has no children," "Ihm kommt es auf die *Kraft der jedesmaligen Rede* an." "The grand point with him is the force of each speech; and as the lady, in order to give the highest emphasis to her words, must say 'I have given suck,' so, for the same purpose, Macduff must say 'He has no children.'" Later he adds that the poet "makes the character say whatever is proper, effective, and good in each particular place without troubling himself to calculate whether these words may perhaps fall into apparent contradiction with some other passages." And that the poet does this is owing to the fact that he is writing for the stage, not for print, for the age, not knowing it is for all time; and "bei seinen Stücken schwerlich daran gedacht dass sie als gedruckte Buchstaben vorliegen würden." "Hence, his only point was to be effective and significant for the moment." Not so, of course, with Ibsen, Hauptmann, Maeterlinck, or any contemporary dramatist of real importance, who all write to be read, expecting to be criticized, dreading to be tripped up, faintly hoping to be played. Shakespeare's structure is wider and looser, as Maeterlinck himself once said.

This is only a still more convincing evidence that Shakespeare was of his greatness unaware. His art he did not take in high seriousness—labor over it, painstakingly study or religiously cultivate it—and it grew, irregularly and irresponsibly, somewhat as a living thing in Nature seems to grow. The man of Stratford was no Frenchman or classicist, no Corneille or Racine, not even a Ben Jonson or a Milton, who builded not better than they knew. He built, now better than they did or than himself he knew, now not nearly so well. Far indeed was he from strictly meditating the thankless Muse. So to him indeed she was not thankless, as to us, however, who too strictly meditate his art, she sometimes is. Where logic does not rule or consistency cramp, the imagination has far freer play in the creation of situation and character. And to the demands of imagination he pays allegiance, not to the denials and scruples of art. Like Dickens, he sees his creatures looking and moving, and (in drama proportionately still more, of course) hears them speaking, even when beyond the limits of the rôle. So, as much as in us lies, we in turn should do. The only trouble is that sometimes we blindly do it too much, taking the characters to be solid and actual, with a past, a future, or an unconsciousness to speculate upon, of which their creator gives no inkling; or, as in the case immediately before us, inferring and deducing, we endeavor to explain the inconsistency, thus discovered, away.

As for the corpulence, this, too, Professor Kittredge declines to accept; yet the word "fat" he keeps, glossing it as "not in perfect training," or "not trained down." That, however, is in defiance of the Prince's words just before

the fencing, "I have been in continual practice," as well as of Ophelia's words "the glass of fashion and the mould of form," "that unmatched form and feature of blown youth." Moreover, one doesn't need his brows wiped if not in perfect training and as little if merely "fat and scant of breath." Or if fat for any cause or in any sense, why should it be noticed only here at the end and by the Queen, not the King? Gertrude's son is no fatter now than on his return from the voyage a few hours ago, or (when we sensibly consider the shortness of the time involved in the whole action) than at the beginning of the play. And what has there been to fatten him? Grief and excitement, which only (as we say) "reduce." But the all-important point is that, however interpreted, "fat" diminishes for us the proportions of the dramatic situation, as well as (though not physically, to be sure) of the hero.

Only if the Queen says "hot" instead, are we reminded of the King's words to Laertes "when in your motion you [the plural here] are hot and dry" (IV. vii. 158),<sup>9</sup> and thus do enter into the situation as a whole. To our relief the Prince has already declined to take the proffered insidious "cup" and drink with the King; and now that he is "hot," with the Queen he possibly may. Despite her husband's interposition, drink she herself does; and (ironically for the King) it is because Hamlet *is* overheated (not in imperfect training, of which the King, indeed, as well as the Prince himself is unaware) that (again to our relief) he does not. "I *dare* not drink yet, Madam [if fat in any sense, he might]: by-and-by." The dramatist's purpose in the repeated invitation, then, is but to seize upon, hold, and throw into relief this perilous moment, expected and prepared for by the King, instead of distracting, disillusioning us—and so belatedly—by such an irrelevance as the Prince's unapparent inexpertness or such an incongruity as his corpulence. The purpose is to make us see clearly and vividly the King beaten, here again but this time for good, at his own game, and the Prince falling only—and by foul play—under the hand of Laertes, with whom we have some sneaking sympathy and who presently begs forgiveness. Like Horatio after him, he sees that both he and the King are caught in their own traps.

In emendation when apparently needed there is nothing essentially improper if only it be in the open and probable, like Theobald's "a' babbled of green fields." Anyone who has had to contend with typists or printers misreading even what is already in type—"drama" for "dream," "criticism" for "Christian," was my own fortune but yesterday—knows what was to be expected of unauthorized printers, as in Quartos 1 and 2,<sup>10</sup> following manuscript; and how easily "fat" could be misread for "hot," and by a printer who, unlike

<sup>9</sup> Quarto 1: "When you are hot in midst of all your play . . . In all his heate"; *Brudermord*: "wenn er erhitzt."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. in a single scene of "the true and perfect coppie":

New lighted on a heave, a kissing [a heaven-kissing] hill—III. iv. 59

As reason pardons [panders] will—III. iv. 88.

My two words were misread by the typist: a week later these which follow, likewise already in type, were misread by a printer: "and" for "that," "at" for "as," "sparsely" for "sparely." Often the Folio is no better; and by his reverence for it in *Hamlet's Father* (1949) and *The Moor of Venice* (1950), Dr. Flatter is sometimes seriously misled. Shakespeare no doubt is sacred; but not, whether in Quarto or in Folio, his printed text.

a spectator, does not recall or even necessarily know of the King's wicked words, be thought propitious, indeed, to the Queen's four monosyllables immediately after! Improbable emendation, moreover, may be franker and less misleading than an improbable gloss. The trouble with Professor Kittredge's is much the same as with his Falstaff a "roaring-boy," of which I took notice in *The Modern Language Review* (XLII, January 1947, 16). Most words have several meanings, and that intended in any particular instance is determined by the context. On the stage, as in life, the primary one is what reaches the hearer, not a possible but secondary or slangy one, unless the context or situation perceptibly points to this. It doesn't, as I show in the same article, where for the New Critic Romeo and Juliet, as well as John Donne at times, "die" in the sense of copulate. Here too it doesn't: even if the Elizabethans knew of the hypothetical slangy or canting sense of "fat," they would not and could not be expected to think of it when immediately linked with "scant of breath"; and the Prince no more needs to have his face wiped, or to drink, because out of training than Falstaff is only "swaggering" as he "roared for mercy, and still run and roar'd, as ever I heard bull-calf."

The above emendation, the only one I remember to have ever proposed (and this not mine, either, but, according to Furness, that of Plehwe in 1862) has been ignored also by Mr. Dover Wilson, who has not only proposed many but thereupon inserted several, and such as "this too, too sullied flesh." He has "little doubt that 'fat' simply means 'sweaty': cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* II. iv. 1, 'come out of that fat (= sweaty, or stuffy) room.'" He should, however, like Mr. Kittredge, have read "fat-room," that is, "vat-room," where Poin, or the Prince, either, as true Elizabethans certainly did not much mind but if anything relish the air, nor thus have dulled and sanitated the opening of this bright and rollicking Boar's-Head scene. He should have remembered that "fat" = "vat", as (for that matter) even in Isaiah 63:2, "like him that treadeth in the wine-fat," and Mark 12:1.

The only point in the above interpretation that gives me pause is the idiom of the Queen. In IV. v. 109-110, as Professor Kittredge notices, she does understand sport:

How cheerfully on the false trail they cry!  
O, this is counter, you false Danish dogs!

But that is directly intelligible to anybody; and she must not be permitted to speak, as here (I am persuaded) she really does not, in a way that would mislead the audience. How could she if she would, the score at the moment standing two hits to none—at the finish three to one—in Hamlet's favor? For "fat" as carrying the meaning he attributes to it in Elizabethan English, moreover, Mr. Kittredge produces no evidence other than what he had got in New England, by word of mouth; and even in the sporting New England of his day, I fancy, "fat and scant of breath" together (context again!) would have meant much the same as in ours. Cause and effect in a nutshell—a neat little and portable formula that lends itself to the sorry but by no means tragic ending for the romantic,

heroic Prince favored by the pathologists ("sedentary," "slothful," "plethoric"), but not by Mr. Kittredge, I feel fairly sure!<sup>11</sup>

And what of the finale?

Good-night, sweet Prince,  
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest—

how could he, if fat or thirty, be so addressed at the end? Even as he is, to keep the words from seeming sentimental Horatio must needs before that, "more an antique Roman than a Dane," undertake himself to drink of the cup; and Hamlet, though in his death-throes, wrest it from him; and the redoubtable Fortinbras then enter, to declare the Prince likely to have proved a kingly king, bidding the soldiers' music and the rites of war speak loudly for him; as thereupon they do. Cut by the producers, ignored or deplored by the critics, these demonstrations are nevertheless only in keeping with the youthful impulsiveness and impiousness of his penultimate words

As thou'rt a man,  
Give me the cup. Let go! By heaven, I'll have't!

as of those on the platform when on the point of following the Ghost,

Unhand me, gentlemen.  
By heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me!

And they give way to him, as to a good swordsman, perhaps, but more as the son of him who in regular and formal vicarious combat had slain Fortinbras' father—as one unimpeachably born to command and to the manner born. For weak of "will" or "nerve," a prey to "reflection" or "melancholy," physically incapable or, like the redoubtable Macbeth, "diseased,"<sup>12</sup> surely it is high time such disparaging conceptions, entertained by no one in the story and incompatible with the dignity of a tragic hero, should, as historical specimens or relics, be laid on the shelf. In tragedy, as in life, which is not a comedy, the hero, as the word itself implies, must, whether faulty or merely unfortunate, be strong.

<sup>11</sup> Since finishing this, I have come upon a communication in the *Shakespeare Quarterly* of April 1951, p. 172, from Mr. Arthur Dickson, in which he quotes from the Folger Library copy of Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* (1608), p. 52: "the sweat of the Gyants browes ran into his eyes, and by the reason that hee was so extreame fatte, he grew blinde, that he coulde not see to endure combat with him any longer." "Fat" the writer takes then to mean "sweating" (which would be tautological); and, without knowing the context, I cannot but think it means that by the sweat the eyes were blinded because they were so deep-sunken; or else (which would be both incoherent and illogical), that the Giant so sweated because so fat.

Later still our editor calls my attention to the fact that in *English Studies*, February 1951, p. 30, Mr. J. C. Maxwell quotes the *Seven Champions* to the same effect, finding "the gloss 'sweaty' unavoidable." Better that, no doubt, however questionable, than the romantic young revenger left corpulent; but even so the situation remains diminished, obscured.

<sup>12</sup> Bradley, hesitantly, applies the word to the Prince (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1908, p. 121); and Schücking, to Macbeth (*Character Problems*, 1922, pp. 77-78), not remembering that the Lady's words explaining his conduct at the feast, "And hath been from his youth," are for the guests, not the audience. And morbid, in disregard of the lyrical, unrealistic spirit of Elizabethan as well as ancient drama and its technique of self-description, not only these heroes but also Lear and Othello have, by still other critics, been taken to be.

THE  
First part of the Conte

tention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke  
and Lancaster, with the death of the good  
Duke Humphrey:

And the banishment and death of the Duke of  
*Suffolke*, and the Tragicall end of the proud Cardinall  
of *Vinchester*, with the notable Rebellion  
of *Luke Cade*:

*And the Duke of Yorke first claime vnto the  
Crowne.*



LONDON.

Printed by Thomas Creed, for Thomas Millington,  
and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peters  
Church in Cornwall.

1594.



## LINCOLN'S INTEREST IN SHAKESPEARE

By ROBERT BERKELMAN

THOUGH Lincoln's formal schooling came to a close at seventeen and totaled no more than one solid year, he carried on his book learning, we know, throughout his career. His law partner William H. Herndon contended that he "read less and thought more" than any other man of his sphere, but we need not take the first half of this generalization too literally. Lincoln himself, it is true, confessed that though he had once begun *Ivanhoe* he had never read a whole novel. Nevertheless, he skimmed many contemporary works and read and reread a few classics with love and deliberation.

In his youth he regularly read the Bible aloud, and he retained to the end of his days an amazingly accurate memory of hundreds of its passages. To balance his later studies in law and Euclid he took to poetry. James Q. Howard, who supplied William Dean Howells with material for the campaign biography, testified, with some tactical exaggeration, that Lincoln loved Shakespeare and knew all of Burns by heart. At least "Holy Willie's Prayer," we can be sure, he did know verbatim. In his fifties he had also come to enjoy the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But he continued to admire fervently the rather sentimental, elocutionary "Oh, Why should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud?" by William Knox, a young protégé of Sir Walter Scott's. Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was a favorite, and he kept a worn copy of *Don Juan* where his wife was unlikely to see it.

Though Lincoln made little attempt to keep abreast of the American writing of his day and cared little for either Emerson or Carlyle, he was attracted to the poetry of Romantic melancholy. He read Bryant and Whittier. He knew Holmes's "The Last Leaf" by heart and considered one of its stanzas ("The mossy marbles. . .") some of the finest pathos in English. When a friend read him Longfellow's "The Building of the Ship," the tears came to his eyes, and he said, "It is a wonderful gift to be able to stir men like that."<sup>1</sup>

Henry B. Rankin, who read law in the Lincoln-Herndon office, tells us that in spare time Lincoln did a great deal of browsing in an adjoining room that was occupied by the State Superintendent of Schools, whose shelves were conveniently stocked with publishers' presentation copies. There he scanned *Leaves of Grass* when it first appeared, and discussed it excitedly. Rankin casts an interesting light on his habits: "He cared little for fiction, though *Uncle Tom's Cabin* moved him deeply while reading it. . . . His likes and dislikes in literature were quick, strong and positive. A few glances, a sentence read here and there, a hasty turning of leaves, sufficed with him for a decision to toss the book aside, or make it his own as he found leisure to read it."<sup>2</sup>

Another student in the earlier Stuart-Lincoln office, Milton Hay (not to be confused with John Hay), added this in an interview (1883) with a columnist:

<sup>1</sup> Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1895), p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1916), pp. 129, 130.

*Columnist:* What author did Lincoln most read?

*Hay:* Burns was his favorite author for many years. . . . Mr. Lincoln did not read many books, but those he fancied took strong possession of him. He could quote Burns by the hour. I have been with him in that little office and heard him recite with the greatest admiration and zest, Burns' ballads and quaint things. . . . As years passed on he did not quote Burns so much. He had then taken up Shakespeare and become deeply interested in him, and yet I fancy that a great deal of Abraham Lincoln is bottomed on Robert Burns and William Shakespeare. . . .<sup>3</sup>

By his twenties Lincoln must have met Shakespeare in school-book selections, but apparently he did not learn to know him well until befriended by the intellectual tramp of New Salem, Jack Kelso, who in his cups loved to chant Burns and Shakespeare with fervor. Later, while riding the law circuits of Illinois, Lincoln carried a worn copy of *Macbeth* in his pocket. By the time of the presidency "he was, withal, a man of sentiment, reading Shakespeare like a philosopher and remembering the best passages," wrote John W. Forney,<sup>4</sup> who as Secretary of the Senate and editor of the *Washington Chronicle* saw him often. Rather preciously-phrased testimony comes from Ward H. Lamon, once a law partner and later the marshal responsible for safe-guarding his friend: "Lincoln learned to love inordinately our 'divine William' and 'Scotia's Bard'. . . ."<sup>5</sup> A volume of Shakespeare, we know, stood handy on the top of his White House desk, along with the Bible and the *U. S. Statutes*. John Hay, the young poet and lawyer who accompanied him from Springfield to Washington and who as one of his private secretaries lived daily with him throughout his final years, went so far as to assert that "he read Shakespeare more than all other writers together."<sup>6</sup>

Lincoln's theater-going began back in his Springfield days. Though the town had a population of less than two thousand, a Thespian Society was founded there in 1836. Despite midwestern puritans who condemned the theater as "a school of vice, a hotbed of iniquity, a pander to pollution and death," the pioneer drama flourished, and even outlived competition from the circuses. Joseph Jefferson played there as a boy, with his father, and a half-century later, in his autobiography, started what may be no more than a legend that Lincoln heroically defended the Springfield theater from religious revivalists who wished to tax it to death. In Springfield, also, Lincoln invited to his home the popular reader of Shakespeare, James Murdock, who had played with the flamboyant Junius Brutus Booth, Sr.<sup>7</sup>

Not long after making his home in Washington, Lincoln became an enthusiastic theater-goer, especially when Shakespeare was being staged. He saw J. W. Wallack, Edward Davenport, and Charlotte Cushman in *Macbeth*, and was much impressed by Edwin Forrest's powerful *King Lear*. According to his

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted in *Intimate Memories of Lincoln*, edited by Rufus R. Wilson (Elmira, N. Y., 1945), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), I, 167.

<sup>5</sup> *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston 1872), p. 144.

<sup>6</sup> "Life in the White House in the Time of Lincoln," *Century*, XIX (Nov. 1890), 33-37.

<sup>7</sup> Most of this paragraph is based on Paul M. Angle's "*Here I Have Lived*": *A History of Lincoln's Springfield* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1935), pp. 52, 81, 100, 189.



secretaries he decidedly preferred the acting of men. The first time he ever saw *Hamlet* staged, the title rôle was played by Edwin Booth, brother of the future assassin.<sup>8</sup> Booth, he also enjoyed in *The Merchant of Venice*.

During his presidency Lincoln attended Grover's Theater more than a hundred times, according to its owner, who also noticed that the President was "exceedingly conversant with Shakespeare."<sup>9</sup> The Ford Theater, destined to become notorious the world over, opened in August 1863 (a bust of Shakespeare pictured on its drop curtain). On November 9, 1863, Lincoln saw the first professional appearance at Ford's of the man who was to assassinate him. John Hay noted the event thus in his diary: "Spent the evening at the theatre with President, Mrs. Lincoln, Mrs. Hunter, Cameron and Nicolay. J. Wilkes Booth was doing the 'Marble Heart.' Rather tame than otherwise."<sup>10</sup>

Blessed with a memory that absorbed poetry quickly and retained it for decades,<sup>11</sup> Lincoln came to know hundreds of Shakespearian lines by heart. He loved to recite them feelingly or to read them aloud. Hugh McCulloch, eventually his Secretary of Treasury, wrote that "Shakespeare was his delight. Few men could read with equal expression the plays of the great dramatist."<sup>12</sup>

In the spring of 1862 the President made a trip of inspection to Fortress Monroe with Secretaries Chase and Stanton and General Egbert L. Viele. Years later the general recalled the literary interests revealed by Lincoln even on this military journey: "With a mind well stored with the grandest and most beautiful in English literature, and a memory so wonderful that he could repeat, almost word for word, whatever he read, he would sit for hours during the trip repeating the finest passages of Shakespeare's best plays, page after page of Browning [the only evidence I have met that Lincoln read Browning] and whole cantos of Byron. He was as familiar with *belles lettres* as many men who make much more pretension to 'culture.'"<sup>13</sup>

The month following Gettysburg John Hay entered in his diary: "The President took a look at the moon and Arcturus. I went with him to the Soldier's Home [Lincoln's summer refuge outside the capital] & he read

<sup>8</sup> Several years earlier, in Jersey City, Edwin Booth had opportunely been present to save Lincoln's son Robert from what might have been a fatal railway accident. In 1864, Edwin Booth, with a special desire to support Lincoln, took the trouble to vote for the first time. A few months later, in Boston, at the same time his brother John was firing upon the President, Edwin Booth was saying in the rôle of Sir Edward Mortimer, "Where is my honor now? Mountains of shame are piled upon me!"

<sup>9</sup> Leonard Grover, "Lincoln's Interest in the Theater," *Century*, LV (April, 1909), 942-950.

<sup>10</sup> *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay*, edited by Tyler Dennett (New York, 1939), p. 118.

Two evenings later John Wilkes Booth was in *Romeo and Juliet* on the same stage. On November 25, 1864, in New York, in a performance of *Julius Caesar* to pay for the statue of Shakespeare in Central Park, John Wilkes played Marc Antony; his brother Junius, Cassius; and brother Edwin (decidedly the best actor of the talented family), Brutus.

<sup>11</sup> On one occasion he amazed a friend by suddenly reciting a Kentucky ballad and admitting with a chuckle, "I don't believe I have thought of that before for forty years."

<sup>12</sup> *Reminiscences of Lincoln by Distinguished Men of his Time*, edited by Allen T. Rice (New York, 1888), p. 412.

<sup>13</sup> E. L. Viele, "A Trip with Lincoln, Chase, and Stanton," *Scribner's Monthly*, XVI (Oct. 1878), 813-822.

On this same trip the informal President so liked a certain comic poem he found in *Harper's Weekly* that he sprawled full length on the deck of the steamer and with his pocket knife made a clipping.

Shakespeare to me, the end of *Henry VI* and the beginning of *Richard III*, till my heavy eyelids caught his considerate notice & he sent me to bed."<sup>14</sup> Similar occasions were recalled by Hay in his magazine article already quoted: "He would there read Shakespeare for hours with a single secretary for audience. The plays he most affected were *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and the series of the Histories; among these he never tired of *Richard II*. The terrible outburst of grief and despair into which Richard falls in the third act had a peculiar fascination for him—'For God's sake let us sit upon the ground And tell sad stories of the death of kings!'" (III. ii. 155f.)

The most striking instance of Lincoln's predilection for reciting Shakespeare is to be found in a narrative that has upon it the strange light of imminent tragedy, for it depicts an experience that unfolded only five days before the assassination. It was written by a young French aristocrat, the Marquis de Chambrun, who had been introduced to Lincoln by Charles Sumner only a few weeks earlier. In April he was invited to accompany the President, Mrs. Lincoln, and a few friends on a trip to City Point, Virginia, where Lincoln was to receive a direct report of surrender from General Grant. When the Marquis died, in 1891, a vivid account of the journey was found among his papers and first published in English two years later:

... On Sunday, April 9th, we were steaming up the Potomac. That whole day the conversation dwelt upon literary subjects. Mr. Lincoln read to us for several hours passages taken from Shakespeare. Most of these were from *Macbeth*, and, in particular, the verses which follow Duncan's assassination. I cannot recall this reading without being awed at the remembrance....

Either because he was struck by the weird beauty of these verses, or from a vague presentiment coming over him, Mr. Lincoln paused here while reading, and began to explain to us how true a description of the murderer that one was: when, the dark deed achieved, its tortured perpetrator came to envy the sleep of his victim; and he read over again the same scene.

Evening came on quickly.<sup>15</sup>

On June 1, 1865, in Boston, Charles Sumner included his account of the same occurrence in a eulogistic address:

Only on the Sunday preceding, as he was coming from the front on board the steamer, with a beautiful quarto of Shakespeare in his hands, he read aloud the well-remembered words of his favorite *Macbeth*—

Duncan is in his grave;  
After life's fitful fever he sleeps well.  
Treason has done his worst. Nor steel nor poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing  
Can touch him further. (III. ii. 22-26)

Impressed by their beauty, or by some presentiment unuttered, he read them aloud a second time. As the friends about listened to his reading, they little thought how in a few days what was said of the murdered Duncan would be said of him. "Nothing can touch him further."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Tyler Dennett, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> "Personal Recollections of Mr. Lincoln," *Scribner's*, XIII (Jan. 1893), 26-38.

<sup>16</sup> *The Works of Charles Sumner* (Boston, 1874), IX, 407, 408.

Instances such as these convince us that Lincoln as a reader and declaimer showed much more than a common interest in Shakespeare. Was he also a considerable critic? Are we to take seriously his pronouncements on literary values and on staging and acting? Such judgments he expressed to Francis B. Carpenter, who lived in the White House while painting the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. "There is one passage of the play of *Hamlet*, said Lincoln, "which is very apt to be slurred over by the actor, or omitted altogether, which seems to me the choicest part of the play. It is the soliloquy of the king 'Oh, my offense is rank!' It always struck me as one of the finest touches of nature in the world." Then Lincoln threw himself into the part and gave from memory the whole passage of nearly forty lines, says Carpenter, "with a feeling and appreciation unsurpassed by anything I ever witnessed upon the stage." And Lincoln continued: "The opening of *Richard III* seems to me often entirely misapprehended. It is quite common for an actor to come upon the stage, and, in sophomoric style, to begin with a flourish, 'Now is the winter of our discontent Made glorious summer by this sun of York. . . . ' Now this is all wrong. Richard, you remember, had been, and was then, plotting the destruction of his brothers, to make room for himself. Outwardly the most loyal to the newly-crowned king, secretly he could scarcely contain his impatience at the obstacles still in the way of his own elevation. He appears upon the stage just after the crowning of Edward, burning with repressed hate and jealousy. The prologue is the utterance of the most intense bitterness and satire." At this, Lincoln repeated Richard's soliloquy from memory, rendering it, says Carpenter, "with a degree of force and power that made it seem like a new creation to me. . . . I could not refrain from laying down my palette and brushes, and applauding heartily. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

Though these observations bespeak some astuteness of insight we need hardly go so far as the Marquis de Chambrun, who, in his writing already quoted, assures us that Lincoln's judgment evinced "that sort of delicacy and soundness of taste that would honor a great literary critic."

On another occasion Congressman William D. Kelley, one of the founders of the Republican Party and a friend of Lincoln, took to the White House John McDonough, the celebrated actor, who as an unreformed Democrat had been assuming that the President was a rude buffoon. During the four hours of spirited talk Lincoln won over the actor by asking him about a production of Hackett's that had disturbed him. Taking down a well-thumbed copy of Shakespeare, Lincoln read passages from *Henry VI* (did the Congressman mean *Henry IV*?) and asked the actor: "Mr. McDonough, can you tell me why those lines are omitted from the acting play? There is nothing I have read in Shakespeare, certainly nothing in *Henry VI* or *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, that surpasses its wit and humor." The actor could give no convincing answer. During the discussion Lincoln also revealed that he realized that some of the current stage versions had been tinkered by Colley Cibber, and all together he pleasantly impressed McDonough with his interest and knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *The Inner Life of Abraham Lincoln, Six Months at the White House* (New York, 1868), pp. 49-52. (This book has alternate titles and several dates of publication.)

<sup>18</sup> *Reminiscences of Lincoln by Distinguished Men*, pp. 263-270.

The most revealing light upon Lincoln as a literary critic, however, is cast by his extended association with James Henry Hackett, whose Falstaff the President saw four nights running. In return for a presidential note of appreciation the actor sent a copy of his recently published *Notes, Criticisms, and Correspondence Upon Shakespeare's Plays and Actors* (New York, 1863), a work which betrayed the fact that his writing was somewhat less praiseworthy than his acting.

On August 17, 1863 (between the battle of Gettysburg and the famous Address), Lincoln thanked him for the book in a notable letter that appeared as follows in the *New York Herald* (Sept. 17, 1863, p. 6), which had somehow come into possession of it:

Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's plays I have never read, whilst others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are *Lear*, *Richard III*, *Henry VIII*, *Hamlet*, and especially *Macbeth*. I think none equals *Macbeth*. It is wonderful. Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in *Hamlet* commencing "Oh, my offense is rank" surpasses that commencing "To be or not to be." But pardon this small attempt at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard the Third.

Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance.

Along with this letter the *Herald* saw fit to run a lengthy and scathing comment under the title "Abraham Lincoln as a Dramatic Critic—the Latest and Greatest of Shakespeare's Commentators." Excerpts should suffice to sample its raw, bitter sarcasm:

Mr. Lincoln's genius is versatile. No department of human knowledge seems to be unexplored by him. . . . It only remained for him to cap the climax of popular astonishment and admiration by showing himself to be a dramatic critic of the first order. . . . Voltaire described the great dramatist as a savage who had some imagination; but that desperately profane Frenchman would not have hesitated, if he were still in the flesh, to have applied the same remark to our accomplished President. . . . How delicately and dexterously the grave cares of his official position are combined with literary tastes. . . .

To Hackett's abject apology Lincoln wrote this magnanimous reply, on November 2, 1863:

Give yourself no uneasiness on the subject. . . . I certainly did not expect to see my note in print; yet I have not been shocked by the comments upon it. They are a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule, without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> John Hay's *Century* article, cited previously.

Quite clearly at this point Lincoln proved to be greater as a man than as a Shakespearian critic, but his forgiving kindness only emboldened Hackett to ask for the consulship at London.

That same season there was another meeting between the President and the actor. Hay's diary pictured the encounter:

Tonight [Dec. 13, 1863] Hackett arrived and spent the evening with the President. The conversation at first took a professional turn, the Tycoon [Hay's playful nickname for Lincoln] showing a very intimate knowledge of those plays of Shakespeare where Falstaff figures. He was particularly anxious to know why one of the best scenes in the play, that where Falstaff and Prince Hal alternately assumed the character of the King, is omitted in the presentation. Hackett says it is admirable to read but ineffective on the stage, that there is generally nothing sufficiently distinctive about the actor who plays Henry to make an imitation striking.

And on December 19, 1863, Hay made this record:

Tuesday, December 15th, the President took Swett, Nicolay & me to Ford's with him to see Falstaff in *Henry IV*. . . . Hackett was most admirable. The President criticized Hackett's reading of a passage where Hackett said, "Mainly thrust at me," the President thinking it should read "Mainly thrust at me." I told the President I thought he was wrong, that "mainly" merely meant "strongly," "fiercely." The Pres't thinks the dying speech of Hotspur an unnatural and unworthy thing—as who does not? <sup>20</sup>

A more connected account of Lincoln's enjoyment of Hackett as Falstaff is furnished by William O. Stoddard, a private secretary who often had accompanied the President to the theater. He takes us with them to Falstaff:

Hackett is playing his very best, and he is well supported. It is a perfect idealization, and the President is studying it intensely. He is enjoying himself. He has forgotten the war. He has forgotten Congress. . . . He is living in Prince Hal's time. . . . It is a long performance, but at last the curtain falls. The applause has been frequent, prolonged, sincere . . . and you rise as Mr. Lincoln does. The smile with which he now tells you how thoroughly he has enjoyed it all, how much he has learned, how much better he now understands the poet—well, it is absolutely the first smile you have detected during the evening upon his intensely studious, absorbed, abstracted face.<sup>21</sup>

All this evidence brings us to the patent conclusion that Lincoln was fascinated by Shakespeare, especially during the last four years of his life, but that this interest shows to better advantage in the emotional responsiveness of his recitations than in an intellectual appreciation of the plays. Indeed, he saw nothing improper in grouping *Richard III* and *Henry VIII* with the great tragedies, and he could turn with questionable readiness from praising *Hamlet* to reciting "Oh, Why Should the Spirit of Mortal be Proud?" His enjoyment went deeper than his judgment.

<sup>20</sup> Dennett's edition of the diaries, pp. 138, 139.

<sup>21</sup> *Inside the White House in War Time* (New York, 1890), p. 188.

What effect did this sustained love of Shakespeare have upon Lincoln the man? In some respects, very little; in others, an incalculable influence.

Though in his writing the effect was more likely to be hidden than apparent, his talk often disclosed it. "In conversation he often made an allusion to something which he had read," observed Noah Brooks, his close journalistic friend, "always with the air of one who deprecated the imputation that he might be advertising his erudition."<sup>22</sup> Just before the assassination, for instance, he confessed to his wife that perhaps he should not have told her of his alarmingly premonitory dream, but "like Banquo's ghost it will not down"; and when he told Ward Lamont of the same bad dream, he quoted, "To sleep; perchance to dream! ay, there's the rub."

In an age of oratory when speakers loved to quote classics by the yard, Lincoln very seldom leaned upon the eloquence of his favorites, very likely because his chief concern in broadly public expression was to make himself absolutely clear to the common man. One must look hard and long in his writings for such few Shakespearian echoes as "the noblest Roman of them all," "cancel and tear to pieces," "so nominated in the bond," "no oath registered in heaven." From both the Bible and Shakespeare he most likely absorbed the exalting power of rhythm, and demonstrated it in sentences such as these: "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here" (Gettysburg Address); "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearth-stone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature" (First Inaugural); and passages in the Second Inaugural, perhaps the most highminded of all state papers in our language. His explication by anecdote, though, he may have derived from Aesop's *Fables*, one of his lifelong delights; his effective caesuras and nicely balanced parallelisms, from the Bible; and his alliterations from his boyhood favorite, Weems's *Life of Washington*.<sup>23</sup>

Usually Lincoln's official style is praised for its simplicity. But really it is anything but simple. The vocabulary may be simple but the phrasing is often figurative and the constructions ingeniously polished. In his thirties, when he was poorly emulating the Websterian spread-eagle, he allowed his figures to strive more to dazzle than to illuminate. Much later, as in the Cooper Union Address, he was using them more for carving out cool logic than for any verbal embroidery. In the full maturity of his style, during the presidency, he made poetry of prose and transmuted his dogged clearheadedness into the intellectual music of the two Inaugurals, the Gettysburg Address, and the Letter to Mrs. Bixby. At the same time that Shakespeare came to mean most to him, his style was reaching its height. The concomitance may not have been mere chance.

Besides the immeasurable influence upon his writing, the staged plays brought him much-needed relaxation, refreshment, and spiritual balance. Often he wandered into Grover's or Ford's informally and alone. John Forney, in

<sup>22</sup> *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1895), p. 295.

<sup>23</sup> Much of this paragraph is indebted to Roy P. Basler's penetrating analysis of Lincoln's rhetoric in *American Literature*, XI (May, 1939), 167-182. See also the opening essay (pp. 1-49) of his *Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings* (Cleveland, 1946).



fact, believed that "Mr. Lincoln liked the theater not so much for itself as because of the rest it afforded him. I have seen him more than once looking at a play without seeming to know what was going on before him."<sup>24</sup>

But it would be false to conclude that he sought only self-forgetfulness in the playhouse. He found also, especially in Shakespeare's poetic utterance, the sublimation of his own most harrowing emotions. This we see clearly in Francis Carpenter's account of the same excursion to Fortress Monroe that we have already seen related by Gen. Viele. One day as Lincoln sat reading alone he called to his aide in the next room, "You have been writing long enough, Colonel. Come in here; I want to read you a passage in *Hamlet*." He read him "To be or not to be," followed with passages from *Macbeth*, and turned to the speeches in *King John* in which Constance grieves over her lost son. Closing the book, he asked, "Colonel, did you ever dream of a lost friend and feel that you were holding sweet communion with that friend, and yet have a sad consciousness that it was not a reality? Just so I dream of my boy Willie." Suddenly emotion overcame him and he put his head down on the table and wept.<sup>25</sup> In emotional experiences such as this he sought increasingly the catharsis that the rich expressiveness of Shakespeare's tragedies could bring to both his personal and his huge national griefs.

The more one delves into this subject, in fact, the more he senses the spiritual community between the great poet and the great statesman.<sup>26</sup> What Noah Brooks observed in Lincoln, for instance, that "few men ever passed from grave to gay with the facility that characterized him,"<sup>27</sup> applies as well to the dramatist. Francis Carpenter was also aware of the resemblance and remarked:

It has been well said by a critic of Shakespeare that "the spirit which held the woe of *Lear* and the tragedy of *Hamlet* would have broken, had it not also had the humor of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and the merriment of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. With equal justice can this profound truth be applied to the late President. The world has had no better illustration of it since the immortal plays were written."<sup>28</sup>

More than one critic, also, has believed Shakespeare's distinctive quality to be his consummate blend of the ideal with the practical or realistic. He moved with ease and power from lofty lyricism or intellectual penetration to homely, common life pictured uncommonly well. Walt Whitman considered this same blend the essence of Lincoln's genius. Shakespeare scaled the highest reaches of Parnassus, but he could also make a tidy profit on properties in Stratford and could meet quite earthly competition in London. Lincoln was a mystic with horse sense.

There was a specially fine appropriateness, therefore, in the telegram sent

<sup>24</sup> *Anecdotes of Public Men*, I, 272.

<sup>25</sup> *The Inner Life* . . . , pp. 115, 116.

<sup>26</sup> It chanced, also, that Shakespeare and Lincoln are companions on the list, authorized by the Library of Congress in 1948, of the persons about whom most books have been written: Jesus, 5152; Shakespeare, 3172; Lincoln, 2319; Washington, 1755; Napoleon, 1735.

<sup>27</sup> *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, p. 295.

<sup>28</sup> *The Inner Life*, p. 150.

by Lord Tweedsmuir (John Buchan), the Governor-General of Canada, to the Springfield meeting of the Lincoln Association, on February 12, 1940: "In the noble merchantry of civilization let us remember that, if we of Britain have given Shakespeare to America, you have paid us back with Lincoln."

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# SHAKESPEARE'S BASIC PLOT SITUATION

By GEORGE G. WILLIAMS

## I

SINCE Coleridge, criticism has been concerned with the philosophy, ethics, and psychology contained in Shakespeare's plays; and since the late nineteenth century, criticism has been concerned, in addition, with the historical, biographical, and literary backgrounds of the plays. But only seldom has criticism been concerned with Shakespeare's plots, except in trying to ferret out their sources. Perhaps this neglect has been due to the fact that critics have been more interested in criticism than in the processes by which fictional narrative is constructed.

Shakespeare, however, was probably quite seriously concerned with his plots. For though a dramatist's chief object may be poetry, truth, morality, or character, he must begin thinking very early about plot. As Sarcey said a good many years ago, "A play without an audience is inconceivable";<sup>1</sup> audience requirements come first—and Elizabethan audiences certainly did not frequent the theaters on Bankside to learn philosophy, ethics, and psychology.

To be sure, most of Shakespeare's plots are borrowed. But the really significant question is this: Just why was he attracted to certain plots in preference to others that he could have borrowed equally well? Originality lies in his selection if in nothing else. Besides, as everyone knows, he did not borrow slavishly. He took old plots, added to them, subtracted from them, shuffled their characters, shifted emphases, combined them with other plots, changed them as he pleased, and generally made them uniquely Shakespearian. Notwithstanding his borrowing, Shakespeare was original.

A plot in its simplest form (the Aristotelian "fable") is merely a change (or an attempt on the part of characters involved to make a change) in the conditions or relationships in which characters are presented.<sup>2</sup> A main plot involves the characters in whom the audience, or reader, is made to feel the most interest. It revolves about a plot situation. And a plot situation may be defined as the general condition or relationship in a plot that the audience, or reader, wishes most ardently to see changed, or to remain unchanged. Less technically, the plot situation is "what the play is about." For example, *Romeo and Juliet* is about two lovers separated by a family feud; this is the fundamental condition which we wish to see changed. *King Lear* is about a father betrayed by his daughters; this is the fundamental relationship which we wish to see changed. (It might be said, in passing, that we sometimes discover the basic plot situation quite early in a play—as in *Hamlet*; sometimes we do not discover it till near the middle of the play—as in *Much Ado about Nothing*; and sometimes we are misled as to its true nature until the end of the play—as in *Troilus and Cressida*.)

<sup>1</sup> Translation from Francisque Sarcey, *Essai d'une esthétique de théâtre* (1876), Part I.

<sup>2</sup> George G. Williams, *Creative Writing* (New York, 1935), pp. 306-309.

Now, if one should go through all Shakespeare's plays, and write down in a single sentence, as precisely as possible, what each of them is about, one would find certain words cropping up again and again. They would be words like "separation," "desertion," "rejection," "disloyalty," "unfaithfulness," "treachery," "revolt." Finding the least common denominator of these words is not easy. Perhaps *division* is as good as any—division between character elements. It is a word that may be used in stating the main plot situation in more than thirty of Shakespeare's plays. The concept it implies is allied to the old Hegelian concept of plot as *conflict*.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, indeed, the division results in, or is, a conflict; but in other instances (for example, in *The Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Troilus and Cressida*) the word "conflict" would require considerable stretching to fit the basic plot situation.

Furthermore, the main plot situation of Shakespeare's plays is distinguished by something more than mere division. Only occasionally (as in *Henry V*) is the division mere healthy rivalry or competition, mere wholesome conflict between natural enemies. Rather, the division characteristic of Shakespeare's main plot situation is an *unnatural*, *abnormal* division, often sinister and horrible, sometimes crazily absurd. What constitutes abnormality or unnaturalness depends, of course, on the cultural background of whoever tries to define the words. But vagueness here need not trouble us much. The moral, social, and intellectual standards of our own culture are still enough like those of Shakespeare's for us to understand when he intends us to regard some situation as abnormal or unnatural.

All Shakespeare's tragedies are built about this dominant plot situation of abnormal or unnatural division—with the hideously unnatural intra-family divisions in *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Othello*; the traitorous disloyalties of Macbeth, Brutus, and Cressida; the complex of personal, family, and political divisions in *Titus Andronicus*; the unnatural feuds between populace and honest individuals in *Timon of Athens* and *Coriolanus*; the abnormal separation of husband and wife in *Romeo and Juliet*; the abnormal, if not precisely unnatural, desertion by Antony of wife, friends, power, and public responsibilities. (It is true that the plot situation in *Antony and Cleopatra* might be expressed as the opposite of division—that is, *union* between Antony and Cleopatra. But Shakespeare deliberately emphasises Antony's manifold disloyalties rather than his love; as Shakespeare wrote it, the play is not a love romance.)

Nearly all the comedies revolve about this same plot situation of unnatural division—as in the unnatural resolve of the men in *Love's Labour's Lost* to separate themselves from womankind; the abnormal, if accidental, separation of twin brothers in *The Comedy of Errors*; the unnatural and abnormal separations of husbands and wives in *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*; the abnormal enmity of brothers, and the physical banishment of three of them, in *As You Like It* and *The Tempest* . . . and so on. Only *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Merchant of Venice* do not conform to the pattern. (*The Merchant of Venice* might be conceived as having the antithesis of the typical plot situation; it attempts to form a sympathetic

<sup>3</sup> G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of Fine Art* (first published, 1823), Part III, Subsection III, Chapter III, Division C, a.

UNION between characters normally and naturally hostile—a Jew and a Gentile. The subplot, in which the Jew's daughter elopes with a Gentile, succeeds, where the main plot fails, in effecting the union.)

The history plays, with their sources in the bitter intra-family feuds of England's royal house, or between king and rebellious subjects, contain the typical plot situation almost perforce. Only *Henry V* (in which Englishmen indulge in the perfectly natural and normal occupation of slaying Frenchmen) and *Henry VIII* do not fit the formula.

This pattern of unnatural and abnormal division appears over and over in that elaborate system of parallels, repetitions, and reversed symmetries that occur in the different plays. Thus, there are twins divided by shipwreck in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night*; feuding brothers in *As You Like It* and *The Tempest*; women wronged and cast off by husbands or lovers in *Much Ado*, *All's Well*, *Othello*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Measure for Measure*, and *Cymbeline*; women who abjure men in *Much Ado* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, and men who abjure women in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Much Ado*; a child betrayed by parents in *Hamlet*, and a parent betrayed by children in *King Lear*; subjects murdering rulers in *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar*, and rulers murdering, or trying to murder, subjects in *Titus Andronicus*, *Pericles*, and *Measure for Measure*; a faithless man who deserts a woman in *All's Well* and *Measure for Measure*, and a faithless woman who deserts a man in *Troilus and Cressida*. . . . These are only some of the oft-repeated examples that might be cited. If anything at all is typical of Shakespeare, it is this particular plot situation of unnatural division between character elements.

At this point, clarification of four details should be attempted. First, because this particular plot situation is so common and so obvious in Shakespeare, one might be tempted to think that *all* plot situations are of the same sort. But Shakespeare himself does not use the situation in *Henry V*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Henry VIII*. Moreover, though we need not take Gozzi's famous thirty-six plot situations too seriously, these situations do suggest a number of plot situations that are just the opposite of Shakespeare's in that they imply *union* rather than *division*. Some of them are loyalty to friends, loyalty to family, loyalty to unworthy friends or family, idealistic love, and self-sacrifice for a friend, an enemy, or a cause. Still different plot situations include salvation of one's soul, loss of one's soul, becoming a savior, overcoming obstacles in nature, deception, discovery of the unknown, and so on. At least a score of plot situations that are commonplace in literature will not fit the Shakespearian mold. By way of specific example, *Volpone*, the best-known play of Shakespeare's great contemporary, and *Dr. Faustus*, the best-known play of Shakespeare's great teacher, cannot reasonably be forced into the mold.

Second, Shakespeare did not invent his typical plot situation, and is not the only dramatist, either in his own day or since, who has used it. Marlowe's *Edward the Second* and his unfinished *Dido* fit the pattern; Greene's *Scottish History of James IV* fits it; perhaps three of Chapman's nine plays fit it; Ben Jonson's two Roman tragedies fit it; and Marston, Heywood, Kyd, Middleton, and Webster habitually use it.

Third, plot situation must not be confused with dramatic technique—that is, with such matters as dramatic contrasts and balances, dramatic irony, symbolism, exposition, entrances and exits, interweaving of subplots, and the like.

Finally, the subplots of Shakespeare's plays are, as Robert Louis Stevenson observed long ago, only "a reversion or a complement of the main intrigue."<sup>4</sup> The space available in this paper is too short to deal with them; but analyzing their basic plot situations would add nothing to Stevenson's generalization, and would not alter the fundamental thesis of this paper.

## II

Though we cannot know why Shakespeare adopted his favorite plot situation, we are tempted to speculate. Some possible explanations follow.

(1) Perhaps some abnormal or unnatural division in Shakespeare's early personal life (like the differences between the Catholic Ardens and the Protestant Shakespeares<sup>5</sup>) impressed his mind deeply and permanently. (2) Or perhaps the civil disturbances occurring in England shortly before his birth left him with a horrifying tradition of unnatural division that haunted him ever afterward. (3) Or perhaps (as Professor Don C. Allen has said) "the body of conflicting philosophies that the new learning uncovered"<sup>6</sup> left Shakespeare's mind itself a battlefield of unnatural divisions and divided loyalties. (4) Or perhaps (as Professor Hardin Craig believes) Shakespeare was merely a typical Elizabethan "interested in maintaining the social order . . . that God had impressed upon the world," and by whom deviation from that order was "regarded with the utmost horror."<sup>7</sup> (5) Or perhaps (as David Masson says) Shakespeare's mind "was characterized . . . by a high degree of care for worldly respectability";<sup>8</sup> perhaps Shakespeare's orthodoxy and conventionality were repelled by whatever was not perfect order and unity. (6) Or perhaps (as Theodore Spencer says) Shakespeare's dominant thought-pattern was the general Renaissance concept of the tragic division between the natural good and the natural evil in man.<sup>9</sup> (7) Or perhaps Shakespeare's personal history, personality, or philosophy had nothing to do with it—and he was only following the literary model of Senecan tragedy, which was so strong an influence in his day.

But none of these methods of explaining Shakespeare's typical plot situation takes account of Shakespeare as a practical dramatist who had to solve, first of all, the problem of constructing a plot that would have box-office appeal.

Perhaps Shakespeare used the kind of plot situation he did merely because he found that it made uncommonly good drama. For a brief page or two in his *The Theory of Drama* (1931) Professor Allardyce Nicoll suggests a dramatic theory that would confirm this interpretation. "The word 'dramatic,'" Mr.

<sup>4</sup> In "A Humble Remonstrance" (first published, 1884), contained in *Memories and Portraits* (New York, 1910), p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> See Edgar I. Fripp, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist* (London, 1938), Chaps. 25–26.

<sup>6</sup> "The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism," *S.P.*, XXXV (1938), 206.

<sup>7</sup> *An Interpretation of Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Shakespeare's Personality* (London, 1914), p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> "Appearance and Reality in Shakespeare's Last Plays," *M.P.*, XXXIX (1942), 265.

Nicoll says, "has a connotation signifying the unexpected, with usually, the suggestion of a certain shock occasioned by . . . the departure of the incidents narrated from the ordinary tenor of life." Drama, he goes on to remark, must have situations characterized by "their strangeness, their peculiarity, or their unconventionally."<sup>10</sup> This analysis fits perfectly the Shakespearian devotion to unnaturalness and abnormality in his plot situations.

A supplement to this theory (a supplement most tempting to the present writer) is this: When Shakespeare was a relatively inexperienced dramatist, he seems to have been assigned, or to have assumed, the task of writing, revising, completing, or polishing at least two of the *Henry VI* plays. Now, the plots of these plays, based as they are on the Wars of the Roses, happen to consist almost entirely of rebellion, treachery, assassination, and murder among character elements who, normally, should have been allied or united. Thus, Shakespeare became practiced, at the very beginning of his career, in fashioning plays out of a plot situation involving unnatural and abnormal division among character elements. Having learned this method, he may have found that subsequent plays fashioned on the same pattern came easy to him, and he may have ended by adopting the method habitually, perhaps even unconsciously. It is possible, indeed, that, having found the method successful with the *Henry VI* plays, he deliberately adhered to it in later plays.

It is true that some scholars question whether the *Henry VI* plays were the very first to which Shakespeare set his "prentice hand." In any event, however, the typical Shakespearian plot situation does appear in all the admittedly early plays (*Henry VI*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Richard III*). The point is that Shakespeare perfected himself in the formula at the beginning of his career. Having found it successful, he continued using it in later plays; and having learned to manipulate it, he doubtless resorted to it for the simple reason that it helped him produce plays with the least possible trouble and the greatest possible celerity—two considerations that must have been vital to a man so busy as he.

What bearing all this may have on our estimates of Shakespeare's genius is not for me to say. Like the knowledge that medieval cathedrals were erected around the simple pattern of a cross, the knowledge that Shakespeare erected his plays about a simple plot pattern may have no relation to the aesthetic worth of the completed fabric. But the mere knowledge that the elemental pattern exists, both in the cathedrals and in Shakespeare, seems worth while.

*The Rice Institute*

<sup>10</sup> See pp. 37-38.

The most excellent  
Historie of the *Merchant*  
of *Venice*.

VWith the extreame crueltie of *Shylocke* the Iewe  
towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound  
of his flesh: and the obtrayning of *Portia*  
by the choyse of three  
chests.

*As it hath bene diuers times acted by the Lord  
Chamberlaine his Seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.



AT LONDON,  
Printed by *I. R.* for Thomas Heyes,  
and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the  
signe of the Greene Dragon.  
1600.



## LANGUAGE LESSON DIALOGUES IN SHAKESPEARE

By R. C. SIMONINI, Jr.

THE story of the Renaissance in England has been told many times. Yet no amount of scholarly dust will ever obscure the quickening of the imagination when the light of new learning is seen travelling over the Alps from Italy across the Continent into England. The effect of humanism was so revolutionary and thorough that new facets of that intellectual life are still being found and studied today. A vogue of foreign language study was one part of the revival of learning in England, and it is the purpose of this paper to show how this phase of the Renaissance left its mark on the work of the greatest poet of the age, Shakespeare.

Although English humanism of the sixteenth century was characteristically patriotic and utilitarian, there was also a genuine desire for learning and culture on the part of both the nobility and middle class.<sup>1</sup> The average citizen's desire for a quick, easy way to self-improvement in all of the social graces was supplied by various manuals, the Elizabethan counterpart of today's "ten easy lessons." Handy books teaching good conduct, conversation, courtesy, letter writing, foreign languages, arithmetic, cooking, and so on, were used during the Tudor and Stuart period. Since a good many of the books for improvement were written in foreign languages, the Elizabethans developed an art of translation that is unsurpassed in literature.<sup>2</sup>

However, translations alone could not supply the need for access to the vast stores of learning brought from abroad by the Renaissance; consequently there was a definite necessity for mastering foreign languages. Moreover, the increased communication and commerce that had sprung up with foreign countries gave a great impetus to the desire for a knowledge of languages. Thus there was a definite utilitarian purpose in learning modern foreign languages, and we find that many of the early language lesson books were directed particularly at the merchant class. Furthermore, since a tour of Europe was considered a necessary part of a gentleman's education during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many young nobles were found studying languages with tutors in England in preparation for travel abroad.

The vogue of language learning that swept Elizabethan England was the result of both a humanistic desire for culture and improvement and a utilitarian importance given to foreign languages by new aspects of commerce and politics. The study of modern languages created a demand for both teachers and textbooks; the religious refugees fleeing into England from persecutions on the Continent at just this time were helpful in supplying both. Many Huguenot,

<sup>1</sup> See Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941); Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902); Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935); Pietro Rebora, "Aspetti dell'umanesimo in Inghilterra," *La Rinascita*, III (1939), 366-415.

<sup>2</sup> F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation, An Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931).



Flemish, Italian, and Spanish refugees from the fierce struggles of the Reformation and Inquisition in Europe became language teachers and writers of grammars, dictionaries, and dialogue manuals for the study of foreign languages.

The refugee dialogue writers took over the techniques of three older traditions of language teaching in England: the medieval debate, the Latin *colloquium*, and the French *manière de language*.<sup>3</sup> Of these, the Elizabethan modern language manual was most indebted to the Latin colloquies used in the English grammar schools since the early sixteenth century. These were dialogue books in parallel Latin and English on everyday subjects such as a boy getting up in the morning, going to school, the school lessons, meal scenes, games, polite sayings, going on a journey, and so on. The colloquies having the greatest influence on the modern language dialogue books were Mathurin Cordier's *Colloquia* (1564) and Juan Luis Vives' *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio* (1539).<sup>4</sup> The Elizabethan language lesson manuals, however, were more up-to-date and topical, and they reflect a wider range of learning and culture. Some of them not only gave instruction in the foreign language but also taught courtesy, polite conversation, and fine sayings, and refined and polished writing. Thus, in keeping with the Renaissance ideal, they were lessons in personal improvement as well as language lessons.

Shakespeare, like other Elizabethans, found nothing revolutionary or astonishing in the flood of modern language dialogue manuals published during the latter half of the sixteenth century. These books were heirs of the Latin colloquies which every student had cut his teeth on in the English grammar schools; therefore it was natural to expect to learn French and Italian in the same way that the colloquies had taught the art of speaking Latin. And so it is not surprising to find language lesson scenes in Shakespeare's plays such as might have taken place in the grammar schools themselves. The episode of a schoolmaster trying to teach his not too eager pupils a foreign language was very close to Shakespeare's heart, and as he wrote out these scenes he probably lived over again his early days as a "whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping like a snail unwillingly to school." Some think that Shakespeare himself was a schoolmaster before he came to London. If the many references in his plays to schoolboys and pedants, and the quotations from the textbooks used in the schools mean anything, Shakespeare, indeed, had his fling from the other end of the classroom as "a domineering pedant o'er the boy." In any case, it is highly probable that Shakespeare knew personally some of the alien teachers of his time and made references to them in his works.<sup>5</sup>

Few scholars have given much attention to the language lesson scenes in Shakespeare's works; even fewer have attempted to indicate a possible source.

<sup>3</sup> See Elizabeth Merrill, *The Dialogue in English Literature* (New York, 1911) and Kathleen Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester, 1920).

<sup>4</sup> An English translation of Vives' book is in Foster Watson's *Tudor Schoolboy Life* (London, 1908).

<sup>5</sup> See Arthur Acheson, *Shakespeare's Lost Years in London, 1586-1592* (London, 1920); Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *Giovanni Florio* (Paris, 1921); Frances A. Yates, *John Florio* (Cambridge, 1934), *A Study of Love's Labour's Lost* (Cambridge, 1936), "Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I (1937), 106-112; and the author's "The Pedant and Church in *Twelfth Night*, III.ii. 80," *MLN*, LXIV (1949), 513-515.

It is possible that these scenes are original with Shakespeare, but the uniqueness of this type of thing in English drama suggests that perhaps some unobserved source gave Shakespeare this idea. Dr. M. L. Radoff is one of the few to study the language lesson scenes in *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.<sup>6</sup> He concludes that Shakespeare got the idea from the French farces of the time, although he admits that it cannot otherwise be shown that they were known to him. However, closer parallels can be found with scenes in the modern language dialogues of Shakespeare's time.

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Sir Hugh Evans, the schoolmaster who "makes fritters of English," gives William an examination in Latin before Mistress Page and Mistress Quickly. The women are not too sure about the boy's progress, and Mistress Quickly's extreme interest in the quiz leads to many misunderstandings. But in spite of the naïveté of Mistress Quickly, the schoolmaster proceeds to put his quaking pupil through his declensions and pronunciation.<sup>7</sup>

Many writers of language lesson manuals incorporated this same procedure into their dialogues. Peter Erondel, for example, in his *French Garden* (1605) has a dialogue on "The French Lesson." Here, the Master comes to give a French lesson to Charlotte and Fleurimonde, the daughters of Lady Rimelaine. After a polite exchange of greetings, the Master asks them to say their lessons. However, they cannot find their books (the *French Garden*, of course!), and Fleurimonde finally remembers that they are in the closet. The girls' cousin, Mr. Du Petit Sens, asks to be excused for fear he will hinder the lesson.

*Master.* No forsooth you shall not let us at all, goe not awaye for that, the Gentle-women are glad of your company, you shall help them to say their lessons, at least you may judge how well they pronounce and learne: Will it please you to take your place by them? Now in the name of God let us begin. Mistress Fleurimond read first, speake somewhat lower, to th' end I may heare if you pronounce well: say that worde againe. Wherefore do you sound that s? Do you not know that it must be left? Well, it is well said, read with more facilitie, without taking such paines: doe not haste so much: do you not hurt your stomacke against the boord? Holde your booke higher, or els set it on a cushen; well, you have read enough. Construe me that, what is that? do you understand that? Tell me the signification in English.<sup>8</sup>

The girls go on with their lesson amidst a lot of idle chatter, until Lady Rimelaine enters the room and inquires of the Master how her daughters are proceeding. He gives her a good report, and all praise the pupils much as at the end of the lesson in *The Merry Wives*.

The reading and writing lesson and the scene in the schoolroom were a part of many modern language dialogues of Shakespeare's day. Claudius Hollyband, the most notable teacher and writer of French manuals, has dialogues in

<sup>6</sup> "Influence of the French Farce in *Henry V* and the *Merry Wives*," *MLN*, XLVIII (1933), 427-435.

<sup>7</sup> *The Merry Wives* IV.i.10-30, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, edited by George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

<sup>8</sup> See the modern adaptation of dialogues by Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondel in M. St. Clare Byrne (ed.), *The Elizabethan Home* (London, 1925), p. 50.

his books entitled "In School," "The New Boy," "School Meals," "The Reading Lesson," and "The Writing Lesson." The lesson scene was as popular with the manual writers as the other episodes of everyday life that were included in the dialogues, such as "Getting Up in the Morning," and "Going for a Walk." The idea for the lesson scene in *The Merry Wives* could very well have been got out of one of these dialogue manuals; and polished up by Shakespeare's genius it becomes a masterpiece of comedy.

In *Henry V* Shakespeare used the novel device of having one foreigner trying to learn English from another foreigner who hardly knows more about the language than she does. The language lesson between Katherine and Alice is conducted almost entirely in French with a few mispronounced English words here and there. Katherine is trying to learn some English from her gentlewoman, whose knowledge of the language is confined to a few nouns. The charm and innocence of the young princess are delightful.

*Kath.* Alice, tu as esté en Angleterre, et tu parles bien le language.

*Alice.* Un peu, madame.

*Kath.* Je te prie m'enseigne; il faut que j'apprenne à parler. Comment appelez-vous la main en Anglais?

*Alice.* La Main? Elle est appelee "de hand."

*Kath.* "De hand." Et les doigts?

*Alice.* Les doigts? Ma foi, j'oublie les doigts; mais je me souviendrai. Les doigts? Je pense qu'ils sont appeles "de fingers"; oui, "de fingers."<sup>9</sup>

Finally, in this manner Katherine learns the various parts of the body: nails, arm, elbow, neck, chin, and foot.

It is interesting to note that this language lesson proceeds exactly along the lines advocated by the manual writers, in that the parts of the body were a familiar and everyday thing around which to construct a dialogue. At the end of the lesson the pupil would have learned some very simple and fundamental words. In the last lesson of John Florio's *Firste Fruites* (1578), an Italian-English dialogue book, a list is given of "Names of all the members appertaynyng to man, of al parents, of the dayes of the weeke, with the seasons of the yeare, howe one shal number, with a certaine briefe Vocabularie." One of the speakers remarks that there are many of these vocabularies in print which one may buy very cheap.<sup>10</sup> Other teachers incorporated these simple vocabularies into dialogues which included all of these words in the course of conversation. Erondel lays his scene in a nursery where Lady Ri-Melaine is giving the baby a bath.

*Lady.* God blesse thee, Rub the crowne of his head, wash his ears, and put some fine clout behinde them to thend to keepe them drye and cleane, wash his face: Lift up a little his haire, Is not that some durt that I see upon his forehead? His browes are very round. What hath he upon his eyelids? . . . What a faire necke he hath! Pull off his shirt, thou art pretty & fat my little darling, wash his arme-pits: what ayleth his elboe? O what an arme he hath! His hand-wrist is very small: open his right hand: the palme

<sup>9</sup> *Henry V* III.iv.1-11.

<sup>10</sup> See the photofacsimile edition of *Florio's First Fruits* by Arundell Del Re in *Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature and Politics, Taihoku Imperial University*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Formosa, 1936).

of his left hand is all on water, did he sweat? How he spreadeth his small fingers! <sup>11</sup>

Shakespeare's use of French in *Henry V* has had scholars guessing as to how and where he learned the language. Some think that an obliging acquaintance, perhaps John Florio, helped him with the passage, while others suggest that Shakespeare had become well-grounded in French while he lived in the house of Christopher Mountjoy, the Huguenot refugee. Doubtless, Shakespeare had frequent contacts with Frenchmen while he was living in Silver Street which gave him a greater intimacy with the language. Yet the style and form of the language lesson between Katherine and Alice suggest the influence of the modern language dialogues. The choice of subject for conversation and the colloquial style are analogous to that found in the French manuals. Other common French expressions scattered throughout Shakespeare's plays are the basis of familiar conversations in the dialogue books.

The profuse use of French in *Henry V* shows that Shakespeare had at least a working knowledge of the language. Shakespeare skillfully makes use of French in the play to secure comic effects. Pistol's misinterpretations and blunders in the language are set off against the relatively good French of the princess and the prisoner. Shakespeare also uses the conventional broken-English device to secure laughter in the lines of Sir Hugh Evans and Dr. Caius in *The Merry Wives*. Dialects on the Elizabethan stage were phonetically the same whether French, Italian, Welsh, Dutch, Irish, or Scotch, and characteristic linguistic features were only sketchily defined. Shakespeare's genius stands above that of his contemporaries in the use of the broken-English device, in that the language of his characters touches them with human qualities quite above those of the conventional types found in other plays. <sup>12</sup>

In *The Taming of the Shrew* Shakespeare combines a language lesson and a music lesson to make a delightful scene between Bianca and her two suitors. Lucentio is able to gain admittance to his lady in the disguise of Cambio, a young scholar who had studied long at Rheims and was cunning in Greek, Latin, and other languages. Hortensio comes disguised as Licio, a man well learned in the science of music and mathematics. This situation makes for very good stage business as the pedant whispers words of love while construing the Latin of Ovid, and the musician pleads his case as he gives instruction in the rudiments of his art.

*The Shrew* contains many stock Italian conversational phrases which flavor the foreign setting of the play.

*Petruchio.* Signor Hortensio, come you to part the fray?  
*Con tutto il core ben trovato*, may I say.

*Hortensio.* *Alla nostra casa ben venuto, molto honorato signor mio*  
*Petrucio.* <sup>13</sup>

It was just this kind of polite conversation that was taught in the dialogue

<sup>11</sup> *The Elizabethan Home*, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> Wilson O. Clough, "The Broken English of Foreign Characters of the Elizabethan Stage," *PQ*, XII (1933), 255-268.

<sup>13</sup> I.ii.23-26.

manuals for learning Italian, such as Florio's *Firste Fruites* and *Second Frutes* (1591).

This is the extent of actual language lesson scenes in the plays of Shakespeare. But teaching is always good stage business, and Shakespeare often employs the device of having one character teach another character how to do something. The disguised Rosalind gives Orlando lessons in how to be a proper lover; Silvia employs Valentine to write love letters for her. However, the strongest influences of the language lesson manuals on Shakespeare are not found in such obvious places. So skillfully has Shakespeare assimilated gleanings from the language dialogues into his plays that many of them have hitherto gone undetected.

Some Elizabethan language manuals sought to improve the learner's English style by giving it a grace, refinement, and polish. Several of the dialogues of Florio's *Firste Fruites*, for example, deal with polite conversation and show how to speak courteously to various classes of people: a gentleman, a gentlewoman, a merchant, and a servant. Chapter 10 of the *Firste Fruites*, "To speake with a woman," goes as follows:

Welbeloved Lady how doo you?  
 I do wel redy for to serve you.  
 Certis lady, I render you a thousand thankses,  
     I know you are courteous.  
 You are redy to mocke me.  
 Not so madam, pardon me.  
 You have not offended me.  
 Neither wil I seeke to doo it.  
 But tel me of courtesie madam,  
     wil you that I love you?  
 I cannot hold you that you love me not,  
     but I am not worthy to be beloved.  
 Wherefore say you so?  
 Because it is true.  
 Pardon me, you erre.  
 I beleeeve not.  
 I pray God it be so.  
 As for me, I was never subiect unto love,  
     neither seeke I to be.

With this in mind, note how Valentine greets Silvia in much the same manner and Speed's cynical comments on their excessively polite and formal conversation.

*Valentine.* Madam and mistress, a thousand good-morrows!

*Speed* (aside). O, give ye good ev'n! Here's a million of manners.

*Silvia.* Sir Valentine and servant, to you two thousand.

*Speed* (aside). He should give her interest, and she gives it him.

*Valentine.* As you enjoin'd me, I have writ your letter.

Unto the secret nameless friend of yours;

Which I was much unwilling to proceed in,

But for my duty to your ladyship.

(*Gives a letter.*)

*Silvia.* I thank you, gentle servant. 'Tis very clerkly done.

*Valentine.* Now trust me, madam, it came hardly off;  
For, being ignorant to whom it goes,  
I writ at random, very doubtfully.

*Silvia.* Perchance you think too much of so much pains?

*Valentine.* No, Madam. So it stead you, I will write (Please you command) a thousand times as much;  
And yet—<sup>14</sup>

A few lines before in the same scene, Valentine discusses his lady with Speed. He shows all of the signs of love and feels the need of talking it over with his witty servant.

*Valentine.* I have lov'd her ever since I saw her, and still I see her beautiful.

*Speed.* If you love her, you cannot see her.

*Valentine.* Why?

*Speed.* Because Love is blind. O, that you had mine eyes! or your own eyes had the lights they were wont to have when you chid at Sir Proteus for going ungarter'd! <sup>15</sup>

The whole scene is very much like Florio's dialogue on "Amorous talke" in Chapter 14 of the *Firste Fruites*. Here again, one of the interlocutors is madly in love with a woman and seeks help from his friend.

Oh deare brother, I am in love  
with a woman, the which is  
so cruel, that she wyl neither  
see me, neither heare me, the  
which thing maketh me almost die.

Alas brother, wil you let love  
vanquish you, the which is but  
a boy, blind & seeth not?

Alas, for al that he is but a boy,  
he hath great strength, for al  
that he is blynd, he seeth.

But how can this thing be?

Aske of them that have made prooffe of it.

Dialogue manuals such as Florio's were really handbooks for all the social graces. They gave examples in their dialogues of how to talk on all kinds of subjects and occasions that would confront the Renaissance gentleman. The range of Florio's manuals can be seen by some of the topics covered in the chapters of the *Firste Fruites*: "To speake of England," "Discourses upon peace, warre, envy, & pride," "Discourses upon beautie, nobilitie, poverty," "Reasonynges upon Fortune," "Discourses upon Musicke and Love," and "Reasoninges upon Diligence, Humanities, Clemencie, Temperance, and Sobrietie." Chapter 17 on "To talke in the darke" recalls the atmosphere of the opening scene of *Hamlet*:

<sup>14</sup> *Two Gentlemen of Verona* II.i.102-121.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II.i.72-79.

Ho, ho, who goeth there?  
 I am your friend.  
 What is your name:  
 I am called A.  
 You are wel met.  
 And so be you also.  
 Pardon me, for I knew you not.  
 I beleve you certis.  
 Where have you been so late?  
 I have ben forth at supper with  
     a friend of myne.  
 Why have you taried so long.  
 Because we were al friendes, I could not part sooner.

A dialogue manual was a handy thing on all occasions. In *The Merry Wives* the very inardent Slender could have used a copy of the *Firste Fruites* to relieve his embarrassment when he finds himself alone with Mistress Anne Page. Slender would give forty shillings to have his "Book of Songs and Sonnets" or his "Book of Riddles."<sup>16</sup> The *Firste Fruites* was just such a book for a gallant to take with him when courting. The fine sayings, proverbs, pretty demands, diverse sentences divine and profane, and many witticisms were calculated to amuse and delight. Would not the riddles of Chapter 21 have tickled the fancy of Mistress Page?

But yet tel me also one thing that I wil aske  
     you, if you can, What is the heaviest thing?  
 That I can tel you by experience, for I have  
     proved it, the heaviest thing that is,  
     as I beleve, is one Etcetera, for if it  
     take you by the way, you can not cary  
     it farre, one foot more.  
 .....  
 Which of these three thinges is strongest, either  
     wine, or women, or els the truth? of curtesie  
     tel me.  
 To tel you the truth, after my foolish opinion, and  
     not being learned, Truth, me thinketh, is strongest.  
 So thinke I also, because the other two may  
     lightly be overcome.

In looking further into the *Firste Fruites* we find that the dialogue on "To speake with a Gentleman" sets the keynote for polite conversation.

Wel met my lord.  
     How doth your lordship?  
 Very wel, at the comāudemēt of you, and redy  
     to serve you in any thing that I may.  
 Verily I yeeld you thanks, make the like  
     account of me.

<sup>16</sup> *Merry Wives* I.i.206-212.



Wel my lorde, I goe through this streete, and you.  
 No sir, I go through this other, wil you commaund  
 me any thing, or not?  
 No sir, but you shal doo me a great pleasure,  
 if you wil come and dine with me.  
 Not to day sir, but another time  
 we wil be mery together.  
 When it please you, I am ready.  
 Then I commend me unto your lordship.  
 Goe, and God accompany you.  
 We wil se one another againe another time.<sup>17</sup>

Chapter 6 of the *Second Frutes*, too, contains "many familiar and ceremonious complements" for the particular use of the traveller abroad. In this connection it is significant that the plays of Shakespeare are full of allusions to the fashion of Italian travel, the malcontent traveller, and the new class of Italianate-Englishman.<sup>18</sup> Shakespeare, in fact, must have had this aspect of the dialogue manuals in mind when he wrote the Bastard's "dialogue of compliment" in *King John*.<sup>19</sup>

The use of proverbs in the *Firste Fruites* as natural embellishments to the language is one of the outstanding features of the book. Often whole dialogues are carried on in proverbs, counter-proverbs, and fine sayings as a kind of exercise.

I know wel that you can reherse some fine  
 sayings.  
 Sithens that you are so importune, I wil  
 begyn, but beware if I erre, I pray you  
 pardon me.  
 Who offendeth not, lightly is pardoned,  
 begin when you list.  
 The fayrest thing to adorne a Prince, is  
 loyaltie.  
 Verily, this is true.  
 In a Clerke humilitie.  
 So saith the Philosopher.  
 In a Prelate wisdom. . . .  
 In a rich man, liberalitie.

<sup>17</sup> *Firste Fruites*, foll. 6 and 7.

<sup>18</sup> See for example *Richard III* I.iii.47-50; *Richard II* II.i.20-23; and *As You Like It* IV.i.32-37.

<sup>19</sup> I.i.189-204. This may be said to be one of Shakespeare's contributions to the growing English nationalistic spirit which was closely allied to the attacks on the "Italianate-Englishman" and the sporadic outbreaks of anti-alienism. Mercutio also hits at foreigners and their English imitators of fashions and mannerisms in *Romeo and Juliet* II.iv.32-37:

Why, is not this a lamentable thing,  
 grandsir, that we should be thus afflicted with these  
 strange flies, these fashionmongers, these pardona-mi's,  
 who stand so much on the new form that they cannot  
 sit at ease on the old bench? O, their bones, their bones!

A likely allusion to this chapter of the *Second Frutes* is also made in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* II.i.111-114.

If you had sayde avarice, that you  
 shoulde have found, for you shal  
 sooner see the fishe flye, then a  
 riche man liberal.<sup>20</sup>

Shakespeare often uses this device in the comedies. Proteus and Valentine carry on a proverb and counter-proverb dialogue,<sup>21</sup> and Sir Toby, Maria, and Feste converse in lines taken from popular ballads of the day.<sup>22</sup>

Similar to this are the syllogisms and witty sayings found both in Shakespeare and in Florio's manuals as comic devices.

Wel, tel me which is the oldest thing that is.  
 Truly I know not, I pray you tel me.  
 God is the oldest thing.  
 But how prove you that?  
 Because he hath alwayes ben, & never had  
 beginnyng. . . .  
 You have not erred: but tel me, what is  
 the swiftest thing that is?  
 The swiftest thing that is, I beleeeve it be the  
 mynd of man, for in a moment he  
 runneth al the world about, now he  
 is here, and now he is there, now in  
 one place, now in an other.<sup>23</sup>

Feste, the jester in *Twelfth Night*, is Shakespeare's most intellectual clown. Syllogisms and word play are second nature to his agile wit. His subtle reasoning is more than a match for Maria and Viola; and, by her leave, he proves his mistress a fool.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, the gravediggers in *Hamlet* use the same device to amuse themselves while they work.<sup>25</sup> Thus a number of remarkable analogies can be drawn between the syllogistic dialogues of Florio and Shakespeare.

The foregoing examples establish a definite connection between the Elizabethan language lesson manuals and Shakespeare. If the modern language dialogue is studied in its proper place as a part of Renaissance learning, if the strong foreign influence in sixteenth century London is duly considered, if Shakespeare's relation to the language teachers and his knowledge of foreign languages is recognized, then there can be no doubt of the significance of the language lesson dialogue in Shakespeare's works. The parallels cited cannot be merely unrelated analogies between language books and Shakespeare. They must be more than that. The influence of the courtesy books, travel books, consolation books, and other Renaissance wisdom on Shakespeare's plays has been acknowledged. The language lesson books should have their proper place beside them. It would seem that Shakespeare read a number of French and Italian dialogue manuals and perhaps even studied the languages in that manner.

<sup>20</sup> *Firste Fruites*, fol. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Two Gentlemen of Verona* I.i.42-52.

<sup>22</sup> *Twelfth Night* II.ii.110-121.

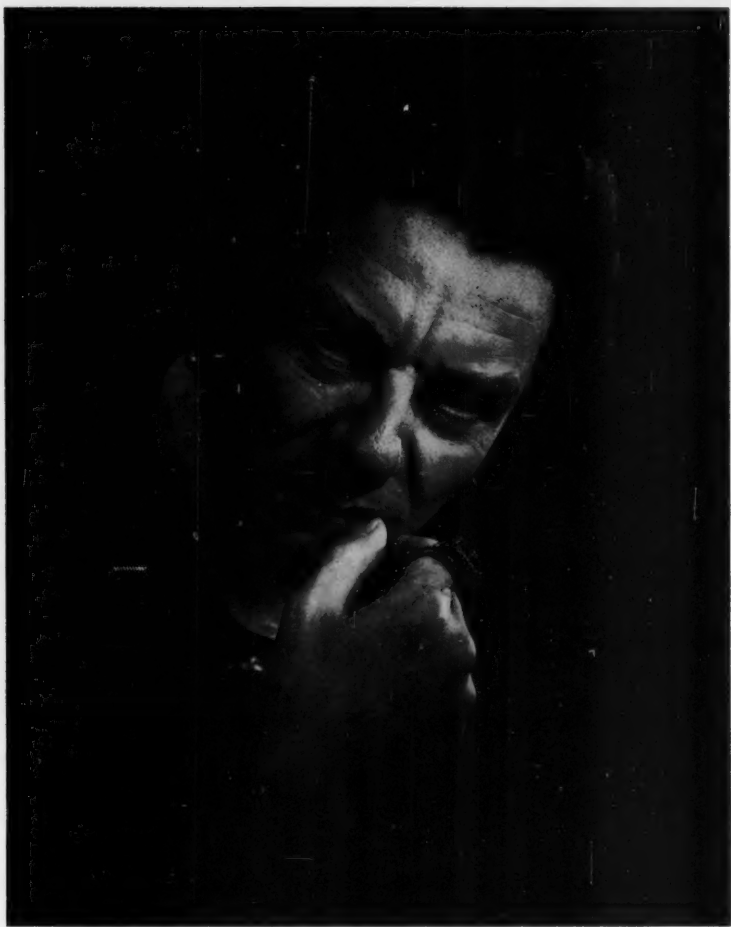
<sup>23</sup> *Firste Fruites*, fol. 37.

<sup>24</sup> I.v.1-22, 61-78; III.i.1-47.

<sup>25</sup> V.i.41-50; see also V.ii.51-68.



Tanya Moiseiwitsch's unit set for the Chronicle Plays, Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon.



*The Winter's Tale.* John Gielgud's suspicious Leontes, in the opening scene.

There is evidence too that Shakespeare was particularly influenced by the *Firste Frutes* and *Second Frutes* of John Florio. Perhaps the constant repetition in these manuals of certain conversational phrases led Shakespeare to fall into that same type of dialogue when he wrote the courtly speeches of his gallants and lovers. He seems also to have adopted the method of using proverbs in colloquial speech, the witty sayings, and the syllogisms of the language lesson dialogues. Certainly, where sources are concerned, here was a quarry of material rough hewn on any conceivable subject.

*Longwood College*



Vpon the Effigies of my worthy  
Friend, the Author Master William  
Shakespeare, and his VVorkes,

**S**uccessor, this Lifes Shaddow is; To see  
The truer image and a livelier be  
Turne Reader. But observe his Comicke vaine,  
Laugh; and proceed next to a Tragick straine,  
Then weepe; So when thou find'st two contrarietie,  
Two different passions from thy rapt soule rise,  
Say; (who alone effect such wonders could)  
Rare Shakespeare to the life thou dost behold.

An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke  
Poet, VV. SHAKESPEARE.

**W**hat neede my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,  
The labour of an Age in piled stones  
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid  
Vnder a starre-pointing Pyramid?  
Deare Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame,  
What needst thou such dull witnesse of thy Name?  
Thou in our wonder and astonishment  
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:  
For whilst it to th'shame of slow-endeavouring Art  
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part,  
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Booke,  
Those Delpicke Lines with deepe Impression tooke  
Then thou our fancy of her selfe bereaving;  
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,  
And so Sepulcker'd in such pompe dost lie  
That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

COMMENDATORY VERSES IN THE SECOND FOLIO (1632)  
The Second Poem is the First Appearance in Print of John Milton

## SHAKESPEARE'S TROILUS

By WILBUR D. DUNKEL

IN Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* V. ii. 118-124, Troilus reveals that he oversimplifies the complex idea of truth. When he witnesses Cressida's perfidy, Troilus is accompanied by Ulysses. They are followed by Thersites, who now stands on the other side of Calchas' tent. As Cressida pledges herself to Diomedes, the perceptive Ulysses tries to draw Troilus away while Thersites emphasizes the parallel between Diomedes' winning of Cressida and Paris' theft of Helen. But it is on the primary level of what Troilus sees and hears that he says:

But if I tell how these two did co-act,  
Shall I not lie in publishing a truth?  
Sith yet there is a credence in my heart,  
An esperance so obstinately strong,  
That doth invert th'attest of eyes and ears,  
As if those organs had deceptious functions,  
Created only to calumniate.

The line, "Shall I not lie in publishing a truth?" is, I hope to show, much more than the paradoxical utterance of a highly confused young man. It is the assertion developed by a false way of thinking, particular to Troilus but also in general true of certain other characters in *Troilus and Cressida* to such an extent that a new point of view may be developed on this play.

Troilus asks the rhetorical question, "Shall I not lie in publishing a truth?" because up to this moment of revelation his appraisal of Cressida has been formed from seeing her beauty and hearing her protestations of love. He has believed that truth is simple, not complex. In talking with Cressida, he confidently assumes that truth actually is as simple as his own experience:

I am as true as truth's simplicity,  
And simpler than the infancy of truth. (III. ii. 176-177)

Later he says to her:

... Alas, it is my vice, my fault,  
Whiles others fish with craft for great opinion,  
I with great truth catch mere simplicity. (IV. iv. 104-106)

It is this way of thinking that leads him to inquire in the council of the Trojan princes, "What is aught, but as 'tis valu'd?" Whereupon Hector points out:

But value dwells not in the particular will;  
It holds his estimate and dignity  
As well wherein 'tis precious of itself  
As in the prizer. (II. ii. 53-56)



Hector thus emphasizes the complexity of determining value; his observation is equally valid for truth, or honor. The difference between two appraisers working on the primary level of seeing and hearing evidence must be apparent. Hector suggests a second level of intrinsic value as well. But Shakespeare seems to develop the problem to a third level when Ulysses reminds his fellow Greeks:

Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back,  
Wherein he puts alms for Oblivion,  
A great-siz'd monster of ingratitude.  
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are devour'd  
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon  
As done. (III. iii. 145-150)

Ulysses, furthermore, in his eloquent speech on degree, (I. iii. 83ff.), adds a fourth consideration, namely, the maintenance of order. Whether the high design be the search for truth, value, or honor, authority is requisite. The avoidance of oversimplification of abstract ideas is thus repeated to the Greek generals by Ulysses. There is need for him to do so. The conflict between the Trojans and the Greeks stems from a point of honor, namely the recovery of Helen. Yet, though the Greeks have rallied to Menelaus' cause, their thinking has become confused. Agamemnon has found:

The ample proposition that hope makes  
In all designs on earth below  
Fails in the promis'd largeness. (I. iii. 3-5)

Nestor asserts:

In the reproof of chance  
Lies the true proof of men. (I. iii. 33-34)

And so Ulysses reminds them of order and degree. Then he turns to Achilles and Patroclus:

Success or loss, what is or is not, serves  
As stuff for these two to make paradoxes. (I. iii. 183-184)

A little later in the play Ajax and Agamemnon debate:

What is he more than another?  
No more than what he thinks he is. (II. iii. 151-152)

On the primary level of seeing and hearing, differences in appraising abstract ideas such as truth, value, and honor seem to produce differences in the particular wills. Both Hector and Ulysses seek, however, to postulate an absolute concept beyond the particular evaluation by an individual. The individual appraiser is urged to consider intrinsic value, the influence of time upon honor, truth and value, and finally authority sprung from order and degree.

As a dramatist, Shakespeare had to present an absolute and chose Cressida as the target for the various opinions of individual appraisers. In *Henry V* II. i. 80, the phrase "the lazar kite of Cressid's kind," contributed to the awareness of Elizabethans that Cressida was the symbol of unfaithfulness. Hence there could be for them scarcely any suspense when she leaves Troilus; she will prove

unfaithful. But for Troilus the discovery of her perfidy must be a surprise, for he has witnessed her beauty and declarations of love. Even his early question, "Why was my Cressid then so hard to win?" (III. ii. 124), has received an answer which should have made him wary. For she replies, "Hard to seem won; but I was won, my lord" (III. ii. 125). Still until he sees her with Diomedes, giving away his sleeve as a pledge, he has accepted the testimony of his eyes and ears without further consideration of truth. That is why he asks, "Shall I not lie in publishing a truth?"

A moment later, however, he is content to rationalize his way out of this paradox:

This she? no, this is Diomed's Cressida.  
 If beauty have a soul, this is not she.  
 If souls guide vows, if vows are sanctimony,  
 .....  
 This is not she. O madness of discourse,  
 That cause sets up with and against thyself,  
 (Bi-fold) authority, where reason can revolt  
 Without perdition, and loss assume all reason  
 Without revolt: this is, and is not, Cressid. (V. ii. 137-146)

Yet Cressida has not changed. The Cressida whom Troilus has esteemed and loved has remained the same person. For on first seeing her, Ulysses has perceived Cressida's wanton nature, on her arrival at the Greek camp:

Fie, fie upon her!  
 There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,  
 Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out  
 At every joint and motive of her body.  
 O, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,  
 That give (accosting) welcome ere it comes,  
 And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts  
 To every tickling reader! set them down  
 For sluttish spoils of opportunity  
 And daughters of the game. (IV. v. 54-63)

But Hector has foreshadowed Troilus' problem when, at the end of the council of the Trojan princes, he had warned both Troilus and Paris:

The reasons you allege do more conduce  
 To the hot passion of distemp' red blood  
 Than to make up a free determination  
 'Twixt right and wrong, for pleasure and revenge  
 Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice  
 Of any true decision. Nature craves  
 All dues be rend' red to their owners: now,  
 What nearer debt in all humanity  
 Than wife is to the husband? (II. ii. 168-176)

So one senses the irony in Troilus' claim, on losing Cressida to Diomedes, that she is "tied with the bonds of heaven" (V. ii. 154). His vaunted, "What is aught, but as 'tis valu'd?" now seems inadequate with regard to Cressida and

Diomedes as he finds himself in Menelaus' place with regard to Helen and Paris. If his former position was valid, he would strangely find himself with the Greeks, defending themselves in holding Cressida from the Trojans. This reversal, of course, is merely a fiction stemming from the logical resolution of his false estimate of honor.

However false may be his way of thinking, Troilus is not a dolt. Ulysses repeats Aeneas' description of Troilus:

... a true knight,  
Not yet mature, yet matchless, firm of word,  
Speaking in deeds and deedless in his tongue;  
.....  
Manly as Hector, but more dangerous. (IV. v. 96-104)

In the final battle Troilus earns from Hector: "O, well fought, my youngest brother!" (V. vi. 12).

Hence one may say that Troilus is brave; "speaking in deeds and deedless in his tongue" suggests the man of action; and his reliance upon circumstantial evidence leads to his impulsive actions. Troilus reminds one of Othello, as a prototype of the more complex personality of the later tragic hero. Othello, for example, assumed that truth was simple when he said: "I will a round unvarnish'd tale deliver" (I. iii. 90). Like Troilus, Othello accepted what he saw and heard without apprehension of Iago's stratagem.

To sum up, Troilus' way of thinking seems to exclude consideration of abstract ideals associated with truth, honor, or value; nor does he reflect upon absolute ideas; hence for him concepts of truth, honor, and value appear simple, not complex. He thinks on the basis of what he sees and hears. His particular way of thinking is revealed by Shakespeare in presenting Cressida as an absolute of perfidy. Thus we understand Troilus' concept of truth as false. Likewise his concept of value is false; so is his concept of honor. But the concept of honor for both the Greeks and the Trojans and the subsequent confusion of the war develop from discussion of whether there exists an abstract idea of honor or merely the concept of the individual appraiser. So I would tentatively suggest that *Troilus and Cressida* is a play dramatizing the various ways in which men think and the confusion which arises from oversimplification of abstract ideas.

*University of Rochester*

## CURRENT SHAKESPEARIAN PRODUCTIONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

By ALICE VENEZKY

**A**N important trend in the major French and English productions of Shakespeare this season is the attempt to restore the original unity by presenting the scenes in continuous succession, without intervening "waits" for changes of scenery. To achieve this, many productions have used for the physical setting modifications of the Elizabethan stage, with its several acting areas. Thus attention is centered upon the text rather than the scenery, and the action is continuous, broken by one or at the most two intermissions. At the same time, the pictorial tradition in Shakespearian production continues, with its elaborate scenery placed within the proscenium.

The highly popular production of *The Winter's Tale* at the Comédie Française is played against a simple, artistic setting of poles and curtains, while the London production of this play uses modified upper and inner stages to assure continuous scenes. On the reconstructed stage of the Old Vic, *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* utilize a large forestage, descendant of the Elizabethan platform stage. The chronicle plays from *Richard II* through *Henry V* unfold in succession at Stratford-upon-Avon's Memorial Theatre upon a modified Elizabethan stage, with upper, inner, and forestage acting areas affording a continuous flow of action from one scene to the next. An interest in continuity of action is also manifest in the London production of *Antony and Cleopatra*, which uses a modern revolving stage, and the Stratford presentation of *The Tempest*, which employs the perspective set and masque techniques of the Italian Renaissance.

The production of *The Tempest* at the Memorial Theatre, Stratford, maintains throughout the spirit of music and magic inherent in the play. In creating this atmosphere, director Michael Benthall and designer Loudon Sainthill use the spirits of the four elements in counterpoint to Michael Redgrave's Prospero, who in controlling the elements is learning to control himself. Thus the tempestuous sea comes alive as the furious movement of greenclad nymphs in the opening scene. The "strange shapes" attending Prospero are grotesque animals, while the earth-bound movements of Hugh Griffith's Caliban suggest a prehistoric amphibious creature newly crawled onto the land. Carrying torches in the Elizabethan tradition, the spirits of fire assist Prospero in calling Adrian and Sebastian to account in V. i, while, as the spirit of the air, Alan Badel's Ariel suggests in every movement the blowing breeze, as he weaves among the other elements and blends his small green body with the tree trunks or the waves. In this production the action ebbs and flows in an unbroken continuity of scenes, from Prospero's cosmic utterances to Trinculo's and Stephano's comic revels, from the simplicity of Ariel's songs to the splendor of the wedding masque with the goddesses in chariots, from the excitement of the opening storm to the quietness of Prospero's epilogue, spoken in front of the curtain as a reminder that the revels

are ended and that the actors are all spirits. Blending greens, whites, and browns, the single setting uses flats at the sides and a backdrop to give the effect of island scenery in perspective, and a gauze scrim at front and back add the mist of enchantment.

While *The Tempest* combines modern and seventeenth-century stage techniques, the London production of *Antony and Cleopatra*, which comes to New York in December, utilizes a recent innovation, the revolving stage, to maintain continuous action as the scene moves from Egypt to Rome and back again. Roger Furse's setting gives beauty and spaciousness to this world stage. Looked at from above, the revolving stage would resemble a circle with an open row of 5 columns crossing it slightly right of center. On the left, from the center point, would branch out at 40° angles the two lines which form the roof of a structure of three columns joined at the top with a cornice. Movable silk curtains are hung between these columns. Thus on the revolving stage there are four acting areas: the action in Rome placed before the row of open columns; that in Egypt before the curtained, columned structure, with the open columns seen in the background; and unlocalized playing areas between these to represent a ship, battlefield, etc. The stationary forestage is also used.

While such a stage permits a greater flow of action than in the recent American production with Katharine Cornell, the latter production better achieved the sense of grandeur and magnificence with which Shakespeare's text invests the action and the characters. Directed by Michael Benthall, Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh stress the physical affection and the humanity of the royal pair, rather than their nobility. Visually beautiful, Vivien Leigh's Cleopatra lacks the majesty of "a princess descended of so many royal kings." Her voice achieves deep tones but neither vibrant nor varied ones. Olivier's best scenes are those of dry humor and restraint, as revealed in the film "Hamlet." He renders memorable the meeting with Octavius at Rome (II. ii), the drinking party on shipboard (II. vi), and the reception of the news of Enobarbus' flight (IV. v). But even as the *Hamlet* film stressed only one facet of the character ("a man who could not make up his mind"), so Olivier's Antony takes its key from the play's opening speech, "The triple pillar of the world transform'd into a trumpet's fool." The world figure, "the emperor Antony", is seldom in evidence. Octavius is poorly played by dancer Robert Helpmann, who ineffectually delivers speeches which might add to the grandeur of Antony and Cleopatra. Norman Wooland's Enobarbus, which is not nearly so good as Kent Smith's in the Cornell production, lacks the hard-bitten realism of the rôle, and he dies like a broken-hearted schoolgirl rather than a Stoic Roman soldier.

In contrast to the effective but elaborate stage machinery of *Antony and Cleopatra*, across the channel the Centre Dramatique de l'Ouest is presenting *The Taming of the Shrew* in Paris and indicating scene changes by pulling different curtains across an alcove at the back of the stage. One of a group of four government-subsidized touring companies, these players took *La Mégère Apprivoisée* and other classics to sixty towns in the west of France this season. Although Henry Grangé's adaptation has taken liberties with the text, the presentation is filled with high spirits and the warmth of close contact with the audience (through direct address, interplay, and placement of entries from the

auditorium). Seldom subtle, the action is always fast moving and genuinely comic and unforced. Unlike their counterparts in the recent Margaret Webster production on Broadway, this Petruchio and Katherina are each a human being, with a regard for the other growing out of their violent vocal and physical differences.

*The Winter's Tale*, this year's highly popular addition to the Comédie Française repertoire, is a more elaborate production, but likewise maintains a consistent spirit as a unifying frame for the play. Here the spirit is one of fantasy, with which the simple, airy setting, described above, is in keeping. With the action in continuous flow, a change of location is indicated by curtains swung between poles. The style of the scenes in Bohemia is close to ballet, using intervals of actual dancing along with posturing and grouping in the acting.

In keeping with the story-book atmosphere, the characters are played in the Comédie's classic style and presented as types rather than as believable human beings. This means that Shakespeare's great art of characterization, whether in full-length portrait or quick sketch, is lost in this production. The jealous Leontes is played with the exaggeration of Molière's Arnolphe or Tartuffe, and with some of the resulting humor, especially in his scenes with Paulina, whose plain-spoken realism undercuts his extravagances, to the delight of the audience. Claude-André Puget's French version remains true to the literal text, while substituting for the rich Elizabethan style a more clipped French flavor. Thus does his Chorus (in full evening dress, like the Chorus in Anouilh's *Antigone*) render Time's garrulous:

Impute it not a crime  
To me or my swift passage, that I slide  
O'er sixteen years, and leave the growth untried  
Of that wide gap; since it is in my power  
To o'erthrow law, and in one self-born hour  
To plant and o'erwhelm custom. (Act IV, Prologue 4-9)

into:

Et voilà que mon drame a fait un grand saut de seize ans  
dans l'espace et dans la durée.  
Pour moi, seize ans de plus ou de moins, c'est tout comme.

Darius Milhaud's music adds to the spirit of ethereal fantasy.

The London production of *The Winter's Tale* is more realistic and earthy in setting and interpretation; its strongest asset is the character interpretation by John Gielgud, Flora Robson, and Diana Wynyard, its liability the lack of any over-all style or unifying spirit. Almost a total loss are the scenes in Bohemia, where director Peter Brook's attempt is a good one—to present real English shepherds in a raucous, holiday spirit—but the result does not achieve the aim. There is confusion in the handling of the crowd of shepherds who sit or cavort at the back of the stage while a weakly-realized Florizel and an inaudible Perdita exchange love speeches on the forestage. Luckily, George Rose (last season's Dogberry at Stratford) is master of these revels, as his roguish Autolycus swaggers and sings his way through numerous disguises, snatching up unconsidered



purses along the way. Christopher Fry's music for the presentation captures the spirit of *The Winter's Tale* where the production fails to do so.

The scenes in Sicilia are highlighted by the acting of Diana Wynyard, as a beautifully-spoken Hermione, and Flora Robson (who last appeared in Shakespeare on Broadway as Lady Macbeth), who adds sympathy to the brusqueness with which Paulina is usually played. Whether she is upbraiding her husband, chiding the jailors, or accusing Leontes, a rich understanding is always present beneath the surface. Silences are used to good effect, as in Hermione's entry to the trial, or Paulina's gaze at Perdita when she is about to lead the unknown princess off the stage.

Having successfully interpreted all of the major Shakespearian roles, John Gielgud is now demonstrating the depths which lie within the lesser characters. Last year, he gave to the Stratford season memorable portrayals of Angelo, Benedick, and Cassius; his Leontes this year is a similar achievement. He begins, as does this production, on a quiet note. Then his mad jealousy mounts consistently, reaching its climax in the breathless speech to Camillo beginning "Is whispering nothing?" (I. ii). The moments with his son are his only touch of warmth and humanity, which Gielgud shows by a subtle tenderness in voice and gentleness of motion, even when he is forcing himself to be harsh with the boy. When an attendant enters from the sick prince, Gielgud conveys a world of concern in his query "How does the boy?" (II. iii). He sits at the trial like cold cruelty itself, refusing to look at Hermione and betraying emotion only by a slight nervous gesture of the fingers. He defies the oracle in anger, then visibly crumbles under the blow of the report of the Prince's death. His senses restored at this instant, he shows a quiet if shaken concern for Hermione when she faints. After uttering one slight but soul-stirred cry of remorse at the news of her death, he bends under Paulina's Fury-like chidings as if they were physical blows. In his next appearance, older by sixteen years, his low, melodious voice and open, yet care-marked aspect, reveal the repentant man who can give Florizel the understanding denied by his father. When Hermione's "statue" comes to life, he falls to his knees with humility and joy in a final scene which is not only credible but moving.

Although the action continues unbroken from one scene to the next, the set seems cumbersome and often tends to make the action mannered and static, providing as it does a central alcove at the back, and two smaller ones along each side, ending in two "scene buildings," each with an acting area above, corresponding to the upper stage. This is used to good effect when Leontes appears here, stage left, to accuse Hermione, who sits with her women and the prince in the alcove to stage right of center (II. i).

As redesigned and reopened this season after having suffered from war bombing, the Old Vic stage has permanent features reminiscent of the Elizabethan stage. In front of the proscenium arch is a large forestage with entrances at either side. Here the actors' contact with the audience is much closer than is the case with the "picture frame" stage of our New York playhouses. As in the Shakespearian theater, unlocalized scenes can be placed on this forestage, while a scene requiring heavier properties can be assembled within the curtained



proscenium in an area corresponding to the inner stage. When both areas are in use, the action moves freely from one to the other.

The setting for the production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, however, does not take full advantage of the flexibility offered by the stage. For instance, "waits" are necessary each time a scene is laid in the Garter Inn. These scenes could as well be played *outside* the Inn, which forms part of the main set representing the town, with the doors of the forestage used for the houses of Ford and Page. Directed by Hugh Hunt, the production is notable for the acting of Peggy Ashcroft as Mistress Page, a Windsor wife in every detail, and Alec Clunes' Master Ford, who brings perfect timing to the physical farce involving this humorous counterpart of Leontes. Roger Livesey's Falstaff, on the other hand, is not well realized, delivering, for instance, the report of his adventures in the basket (III. v) as a whining complaint and depending on externalities such as wheezing and sneezing instead of on the wit of the lines for humor.

More fully utilizing the possibilities of the Old Vic stage is the presentation of *Henry V*, directed by Glen Byam Shaw, one of the best examples of the current achievement in fluidity of staging, purity of text, and ensemble presentation with careful attention to each detail as well as to the over-all production.

Two examples of this are the careful and life-like grouping of characters on a full stage in II. ii, when Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey are arrested of high treason. As they read their commissions, silently a guard appears behind each to lay a hand on the culprit's shoulder at the very moment he discovers his crime is known. In the humorous scene that follows, body movement and footwork are as carefully worked out in Nym's and Pistol's attempts to duel, despite the intervention of Bardolph and the Hostess.

The decor by Motley is as effective as the direction, with three carts of war creating the setting for the battle scenes, which take place in the several acting areas. Ragged, lean and weary, the English soldiers follow their description in the text; Captain Jamy's eyes are red-rimmed with fatigue when he says (III. ii) "ere these eyes of mine take themselves to slomber, ay'll de gud service."

In this production, the Dauphin's character is developed as a foil to that of Henry V, with, for instance, Henry's response to the gift of tennis balls (I. ii) calm, with controlled emotion, while the drunken Dauphin responds to Henry's message of defiance in blind physical rage (II. iv). Alec Clunes's interpretation of Henry reveals new facets to the traditionally stalwart and virtuous hero, bringing him closer to modern times by a sensitivity underlying the valor. He is troubled over the thought of war even after reassurance in I. ii, and his speech to the citizens of Harfleur (III. iii) is not only a threat to them, but a realization to himself of the dire consequences of war. His quiet soliloquy (IV. i), "upon the King," is remarkable for its music and variety in vocal tone, while his faith in God is convincingly portrayed.

Most closely approximating the Elizabethan stage is Tanya Moiseiwitsch's unit setting on which the chronicle plays, *Richard II* through *Henry V*, are being presented in succession at the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon. This series will surely be remembered as a landmark in current Shake-

spearian production. With a high standard of production and acting generally maintained, the staging of the plays in succession sheds light on significant passages in the text and also gives credence to the arguments in behalf of using features of the Shakespearian stage in modern productions. The plays are directed by Anthony Quayle, Michael Redgrave, and John Kidd.

Using the three principal acting areas of the Shakespearian playhouse, upper, inner, and forestage, the production maintains a good continuity of action. The upper and inner stages prove useful for framing memorable scenes *en tableau*, as Richard's "fair show" at Flint Castle (III. iii), presented on the upper stage, and the picture of Henry V and Katherine kneeling before an altar in the inner stage at the end of *Henry V* as Chorus recites the epilogue. As was probably true in Shakespeare's Globe, the upper stage is effectively used for domestic scenes, as when York describes Bolingbroke's coronation to his wife in *Richard II* (V. ii). Sometimes it represents a balcony for observing a great event, as in the lists between Bolingbroke and Mowbray in *Richard II* (I. iii). The effectiveness and simplicity of using this upper stage for city walls is demonstrated in *Henry V* (III. i and iii) when the citizens of Harfleur appear here, and when scaling ladders reaching to the upper stage are used, while fighting is going on above and below. Henry's "Once more unto the breach" speech is delivered from such a ladder. The upper stage also affords variety for the battle scenes, with short skirmishes taking place here as well as on the main stage and in the inner stage.

The inner stage is useful to frame battle scenes, especially those employing heavy instruments of war, like cannons. A cannon and pile of shot placed here form the background in the battle scenes in *Henry V*. The inner stage also serves as a place of concealment. In the garden scene in *Richard II* (III. iv) the Queen takes her place here as she says, "Let's step into the shadow of these trees," and Falstaff and his comrades wait just outside the inner stage, to the stage right, as their Gadshill victims come through (1 *Henry IV* II. ii). The size of this inner stage, ten feet high and eight in depth, larger than the Elizabethan and closer to the audience, disproves the old theory of "alternating," since no scene can be entirely played in this space. Rather, some scenes begin here and are immediately brought forward.

The inner stage is also effective as a central entrance and exit for important arrivals and departures. After the scene at Flint Castle in *Richard II* (III. iii), it is significant that Richard does not precede but that Richard and Bolingbroke go out through this exit together; likewise the old Henry IV, convinced by his son's arguments, leaves through this central portal, leaning on Hal for support (1 *Henry IV* III. ii).

Like the Elizabethan presentations on an uncurtained stage, these plays achieve their visual effects chiefly through colorful costumes and processions. Most of the productions in the Stratford series begin and end with pageantry, while within the action of the play the characters move on and off the stage as scene follows scene in rapid succession. Notable among the processions are the funeral of Richard II at the end of this play, lit by tapers and proceeding from the stage right, where Bolingbroke sits enthroned, through the central exit of the inner stage. The upper stage proves effective for a "double view" of processions

like the coronation parade of Henry V (2 *Henry IV* V.v), which goes across the upper stage and down the stairs to the main stage. Here Hal pauses on the landing at stage left and stares straight ahead as he rebukes Falstaff, who stands at the front of the crowd on the forestage.

As in the Elizabethan playhouse, the atmosphere in these productions is created by the dialogue assisted by the simplest of movable properties. For Henry V's coronation, banners are flung across the front railing of the upper stage just as they were hung from the house windows in Shakespeare's day. A ladder leaning against the wall at stage left suggests Hotspur's camp; baskets strung over a pole turn the upper stage into a shop; a few boots over a back-board convert a stair landing into a cobbler's shop. A table and stools serve many purposes, from camp conferences to tavern scenes where drawers carry tankards on and off for the beginning and ending of the scene. And the throne remains unobtrusively downstage right, while attention is focused on outdoor scenes on the forestage, such as the tilt or the Flint Castle scene in *Richard II*. Only in the final production, *Henry V*, does the desire to decorate the "unworthy scaffold" get out of bounds, with lavish hangings, a full curtain setting for the French Court, and elaborate costumes. Henry V has five costume changes, beginning in an ermine robe of state and ending in orange velvet and gold. Unlike those in the Old Vic production, the soldiers in the battle scenes are bravely decked instead of in "warworn coats."

Examples of the effectiveness of continuous action on an unlocalized set are the jesting exit of Richard II (I. iv) from the upper stage as, in contrast, the sick and troubled John of Gaunt comes through the entry of the lower stage. Likewise the arrest of Doll Tearsheet and Mistress Quickly ends on the forestage just as the coronation procession of Henry V is beginning across the upper stage, and this juxtaposition points up the Folly of Hal's former ways and hardens his heart and ours for the rejection of Falstaff which follows immediately.

Of special interest is the continuity of action from play to play. The sturdy Bolingbroke of *Richard II*, skilfully played by Harry Andrews, develops into the shrewd Henry IV in Part 1, and the care-ridden ruler in Part 2. The audience can sympathize with, if not excuse him, having witnessed in the preceding play Michael Redgrave's Richard, petulant and pleasure-loving, self-indulgent and self-pitying, yet nevertheless the anointed King. The production follows the Elizabethan theories of history pointed out by E.M.W. Tillyard and Lily Bess Campbell, that the deposition of Richard, poor a king as he was, constituted a crime against God and that retribution followed in the form of the Hundred Years' War and the tyrant Richard III. Michael Redgrave's Hotspur, impetuous and hot-tempered, but with a sense of humor that might be questioned, serves as a likely foil to Hal. Richard Burton (last seen on Broadway in *The Lady's Not for Burning*) makes Prince Hal's reformation entirely credible by foreshadowing this throughout his earlier scenes. As Henry V, however, he does not achieve heroic stature, substituting strength of voice for strength of character, and silence for sensitivity. His interpretation lacks the perception and his voice the music of Alec Clunes's Henry V at the Old Vic.

The comic scenes are spirited and inventive, with Alan Badel as a quavering Shallow, Michael Bates as a kind-hearted, bandy-legged Bardolph, and Rosa-

lind Atkinson as a bustling Mistress Quickly. Anthony Quayle's Falstaff is richly realized, and all of the wit of the character brought out with a fullness of comic invention. The variety he brings to the character is demonstrated by his rendition of the speech on honor in *1 Henry IV* (V. i), where he intones in six different ways his answer, "no," to his own rhetorical questions.

Sounding through the cycle is the voice of history—the prophecies of the future and the recapitulations of the past. In *Richard II*, Gaunt laments for the land and the Duchess of Gloucester for the royal family, while Richard prophesies at Flint Castle the wars that will come to Henry IV "ere the crown he looks for live in peace" (III. iii). When Henry IV regrets in the next play that his son is another "skipping king" like Richard II, the audience recalls Richard's first, unceremonial entry to his throne, fairly skipping onto the scene, and surrounded by his minions. After having seen the plots and wars of the succeeding plays, the audience finds special significance in Henry V's prayer before Agincourt (IV. i)

Not to-day, O Lord,  
O, not to-day, think not upon the fault  
My father made in compassing the crown!

In unfolding the drama of history in Shakespeare's chronicle plays, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre has not only set examples in ensemble acting and individual performances, but it has demonstrated to future stagings the flexibility of the Elizabethan stage and to present spectators the rich dramatic and human values in Shakespeare's chronicle plays.

*Hunter College*

## CURRENT THEATER NOTES

This list marks the beginning of a new project for the *Shakespeare Quarterly*. It is believed that a permanent record of the Shakespeare performances during each year can serve as a valuable source of information for future producers, actors, and students of the theater. It cannot be expected that in this, the first year, completeness is possible, but it is hoped that it will stimulate an increasing coverage of the performances of professional companies, community theaters, and colleges, in this and other countries. Information for 1952 productions should be sent to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, 61 Broadway, New York City.

The present sampling, in itself, reveals interesting facts, the most obvious being the extent of Shakespeare's importance in the activity of the theater today, among both professionals and amateurs. He maintains his position as the most popular playwright in America and England, and in the latter place he is enjoying an unusually successful season. In the special productions for the Festival of Britain throughout the country, he is the obvious first choice, his only rival, who does not trail him closely, being Shaw.

This list reveals that favorite Shakespeare plays during the year are, *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *As You Like It*. It also reflects the curiosity and desire to see more rarely produced plays, *King Henry VI, Part II*, *Cymbeline*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Pericles*.

In America, particularly in college and community theaters, there is an emphasis upon experimental staging, adaptations to limited space, symbolic settings, the arena stage, or reduplication of the Elizabethan stage. The treatment of the text varies from extensive cutting, to strict adherence to an unusually full version. This interest in the uncut text is likewise found in many English performances. While the British gave less attention to experimental staging and reduplication of the Elizabethan method, they frequently make the most of an unique advantage, the choice of a picturesque and historic setting. *Twelfth Night* has been performed in the Middle Temple Hall as it was three hundred and fifty years ago; *The Merry Wives of Windsor* has been given in the gardens of Windsor Castle. In *Macbeth*, produced at Pitlochry, Scotland, actual branches from nearby Birnam Wood were carried nightly to Dunsinane.

An increasing effort can be seen for the maintenance of Shakespeare in permanent homes such as the Memorial Theatre in Stratford and the new Globe now planned in Westport, Connecticut. Also notable is his dominance in repertory, the increasing prestige of Shakespeare Festivals, and the growth of touring companies.

Shakespeare is a conspicuous ambassador in many countries. His plays were in the repertories of national theaters in France, Norway, and Turkey—in the last country the new season has opened with *The Taming of the Shrew*. The annual performance of *Hamlet* in the courtyard at Elsinore has become a tradition. His plays were in the Salzburg Festival, the Ruhr Festival, the Netherlands Festival, and during the year they have toured Holland, India, and South Africa. A note in a recent stage journal indicates that he has a wel-

come in a country where it might not be expected, "Shakespeare will be performed at the National Theatre in Belgrade during the coming season." His *Romeo and Juliet* was given this year at the Polish Theatre in Warsaw, continuing a tradition of great popularity in the past; he was not long expelled and quickly re-admitted. In these days of darkness and uncertainty, Shakespeare embodies an eloquent part of our literary heritage, and there is new significance in his quality of universality.

### *All's Well that Ends Well*

Opened March 13. The Repertory Company, at the Playhouse, Liverpool, England. Directed by Gerald Cross.

### *Antony and Cleopatra*

May 11-September 22. St. James Theatre, London. Sir Laurence Olivier as Antony, Vivien Leigh as Cleopatra. Directed by Michael Benthall. Gilbert Miller plans to bring the production to the Ziegfeld Theatre in New York City, opening December 19.

Opened July 28. The Grand Mur-Théâtre, Orange, France. Presented by the Chorégie d'Orange. Directed by Jean Hervé.

### *As You Like It*

Opened April 9. The Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow. Directed by John Casson.

Opened May 21. The Overture Players, Bromley, England. Directed by Guy Verney.

May 24, 25, 26. Outdoor production, presented by the American University Theater, Washington, D.C. Directed by Mary Miller Patton.

Early in June, an outdoor production, in the garden of Worcester College, Oxford, England. June 26, and nine subsequent performances, as part of the Cheltenham Music Festival. In the Pittville Gardens Open Air Theatre, Cheltenham, England.

July 2, a Festival of Britain production, Preston, England. Directed by John Carew.

July 2-7. The First Folio Theatre Company. An outdoor production, in Walpole Park, Ealing, England. Directed by Kenneth McClellan.

July 28, 31, August 6, 11, 17, 22, 25. A production of the Salzburg Festival, Salzburg, Austria. Directed by Gustaf Gründgens.

July 30. The Perry Mansfield Theatre, Steamboat Springs, Colorado. Directed by Charlotte Perry.

In September. The Theatre Komödie, Basle, Switzerland.

Hamburger Schauspielhaus, Hamburg, Germany.

### *The Comedy of Errors*

January-March tour by the Barter Theatre of Abingdon, Virginia. Robert Porterfield, director. During January: Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi. During February: Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas. During March: Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Iowa.

May 2-6. St. Paul College Drama Festival, at St. Thomas College, St. Paul, Minnesota. Directors, John Doll, Mabel Frey, Hilding Peterson.

June 13-24. The Old Vic School, at their theater, London.

Städtische Buehne, Duisburg, Germany.

### *Coriolanus*

March 5. The Marlowe Society and A.D.C. The Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England.

For the Festival of Britain, one of the three plays presented by the Little Theatre Players of Sheffield Educational Settlement, Sheffield, England. "Under the guidance of Arnold Freeman."

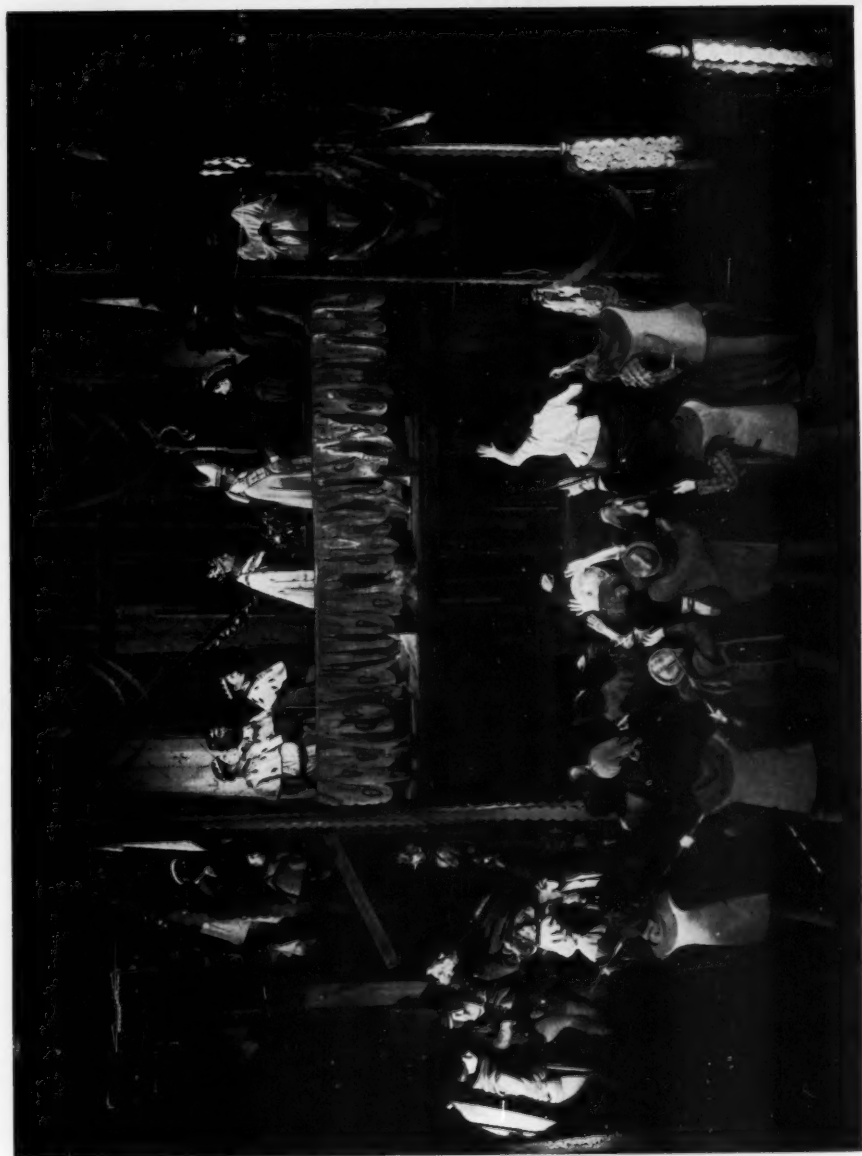
### *Cymbeline*

July 3-7. In the Hawksmoor Quadrangle of All Souls College, Oxford, England. Directed by John Hale.



*The Winter's Tale.* John Gielgud's repentant Leontes, in the final scene.





Coronation procession, 2 *Henry IV*. proceeding across upper stage, down stairs stage left and onto forestage. Falstaff at the left.

**Hamlet**

Beginning in November 1950 and continuing for five and a half months, the British Council's Shakespeare Dramatic Recital Company toured India and Pakistan with a repertory of eleven plays, of which *Hamlet* was one.\* Walter Fitzgerald and Frances Clare, leading members of company. Norman Marshall, director.

Opened January 22 for two weeks engagement. Nottingham Playhouse, Nottingham, England. Directed by André van Gysegheem.

Opened January 22 for four weeks engagement. Sheffield Playhouse, Sheffield, England. Directed by Godfrey Ost.

February 12-14. The Guildford Theatre, Guildford, England. Laurence Payne as Hamlet. Directed by Roger Winton.

February 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28. Presented by the Department of Dramatic Arts. Kirby Memorial Theatre, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. Directed by Curtis Canfield.

March 6. New Boltons Theatre, London. Directed by John Harrison.

March 12. Presented by the Marlowe Society and A.D.C., Cambridge, England. Directed by Geoffrey Darby.

March 19-24. Presented by the Blackfriars. Morgan Hall, University, Alabama. Directed by Marion Galloway.

April 21-29. Utah State Theatre, Logan, Utah. Directed by Harold I. Hansen.

May 17-June 30. New Theatre, London. Alec Guinness as Hamlet. Directed by Alec Guinness and Frank Hauser.

May, 14, and eleven subsequent performances. The Ring Theatre, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

In early June, a Festival of Britain production. The Weyman Mackay Company, Bedford, England.

May 28-June 2. Presented by the Buskin Players. The Roof Garden Theatre, Bognor Regis, England. Directed by Kevin Young.

June 21-30. Annual production in the courtyard of Kronborg Castle, at Elsinore, Denmark. The Norrköping-Lidköping Stadsteater Company (Sweden). Ingemar Pallin as Hamlet. Directed by Julian Falck.

June-September. One of the plays in repertory of the Festival Shakespeare Players. Guildford, Oxford, Stratford, Paris, London performances.

July 18-21. Presented by the Howard University Summer School. Spaulding Hall, Washington, D.C. Earle Hyman as Hamlet. Directed by Owen Dodson.

August 10-19. One of the four plays presented in the Camden Hills Theatre Shakespeare Festival, Camden, Maine. Herschel L. Bricker, director-manager.

Städtische Buehne, Duesseldorf, Germany.

**Julius Caesar**

June 9, 14, July 13. The Hedgerow Theatre, Moylan, Pennsylvania.

Opened June 16. A production at the Netherlands Festival, Amsterdam, Holland.

Stadttheater, Duisburg, Germany.

Opened October 2. Arena Stage, Hippodrome, Washington, D. C.

**King Henry IV, Part I**

Opened April 3. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Michael Redgrave as Hotspur, Anthony Quayle as Falstaff, Richard Burton as Prince Hal, Harry Andrews as the King. Directed by John Kidd.

May 9-13. Hofstra College Shakespeare Festival, Hempstead, Long Island. Presented by the Green Wig Society. Directed by Bernard Beckerman.

In May. Presented by the Troubadours. Washington and Lee University. Directed by Lloyd J. Lanich.

In latter part of July, presented by a group of young actors, in the cloister of St. Séverin, Paris. Directed by Roger Paschel.

**King Henry IV, Part II**

February 14-March 17. The Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Directed by Albert Marre.

Opened May 8. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Richard Burton as Prince Hal, Harry Andrews as the King, Anthony Quayle as Falstaff. Directed by Michael Redgrave.

Part of Oxford Festival of Britain, July 2-16. Performed in college gardens, Oxford.

August 4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Producing director, Angus L. Bowmer.

### *King Henry V*

January 30-March 10. The Old Vic production, London. Alec Clunes as King Henry V, Roger Livesey as the Chorus, Paul Rogers as the Dauphin. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw. Production repeated during the eight-week Festival season which commenced May 7. Following the season, the Company appeared for a week in Liverpool.

Part of the Peterborough Festival of Britain, May 20-June 2. Presented in the Park Open-Air Theatre.

Part of the Festival of Sussex, Bexhill, England. The Penguin Players. Directed by Richard Burnett.

Opened July 31. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Richard Burton as Henry V, Michael Redgrave as the Chorus. Directed by Anthony Quayle.

### *King Henry VI, Part II*

April 3-April 28. The Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Douglas Seale.

### *King Lear*

December 25, 1950-February 3, 1951. The National Theatre, New York City. Louis Calhern as King Lear. Directed by John Houseman.

January 12-February 11. The Actors Company, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by Minnie Galatzer. Opened June 5. Part of Leeds Festival of Britain. Presented by the University of Leeds Staff Dramatic Society and Union Theatre Group. Directed by John Boorman.

In April. The Little Theatre Guild of Great Britain. Leicester Little Theatre, Leicester, England.

August 3, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Angus L. Bowmer, producing director.

A tour of several months in South Africa. André Huguenet as King Lear, after his return from England in June.

Ruhr Festivals, Recklinghausen, Germany.

### *King Richard II*

January 24-February 4. The New York City Theatre Company, the New York City Center. Maurice Evans as King Richard, Kent Smith as Bolingbroke. Directed by Margaret Webster.

Opened February 27 for two weeks. The Gaiety Theatre, Dublin. Michael MacLiammoir as King Richard. Directed by Hilton Edwards.

Opened March 24. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon. Michael Redgrave as Richard II, Hugh Griffith as John of Gaunt, Harry Andrews as Bolingbroke. Directed by Anthony Quayle.

May 17-19, June 8-9. The '92 Theater, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. Directed by Ralph Pendleton.

### *Love's Labour's Lost*

May 15-18. Smith College Theatre, Northampton, Massachusetts. Directed by G.B. Dowell.

May 23-June 24. The Brattle Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Ian Keith as Armado, Hurd Hatfield as Biron. Directed by Albert Marre.

### *Macbeth*

One of the eleven plays given by the British Council's Shakespeare Dramatic Recital Company during their tour of India and Pakistan. See this Company's *Hamlet* entry.

February 16, 17. Kansas State Players, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas. Directed by Earl G. Hoover.

February 27-March 4. Dakota Wesleyan, Mitchell, South Dakota. Directed by Philip Kaye.

February 28-March 11. Dramatic Workshop Repertory Theatre, New York City. Directed by Erwin Piscator.

April 2-7. Speech Department, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

May 14-19. The Shakespeare Stage Society, as a contribution to the Festival of Britain. A Jacobean production of *Macbeth*, Crosby Hall, Chelsea. Directed by C.B. Purdom.

Opened May 26. Pitlochry, Scotland. Lewis Jones as *Macbeth*. Directed by Andrew Leigh.

Opened June 25. The County Players. Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England. Directed by Douglas Quayle.

Opened July 30. One of the plays in the Chipping Campden Festival of Britain. Presented by the Osiris Repertory Company. Directed by Nancy Hewins.

Städtische Buehne, Bochum, Germany.

### *Measure for Measure*

Opened July 6, a production at the Netherlands Festival, Amsterdam, Holland.

August 2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Angus L. Bowmer, producing director.

In September. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. W. Nugent Monck, director.

### *The Merchant of Venice*

One of the eleven plays given by the British Council's Shakespeare Dramatic Recital Company during their tour of India and Pakistan. See this Company's *Hamlet* entry.

December 18, 1950-January 6, 1951. Theatre '50-51, Dallas, Texas. Directed by Margo Jones.

The Young Vic Company production, directed by Glen Byam Shaw, during the 1950-1951 season toured Cheltenham, Tunbridge Wells, Slough, Cambridge, Doncaster, Hereford, Reading, Burnley, Exeter, Bath, Ipswich, then a week at the Old Vic Theatre, London, beginning January 15. Following this engagement, a tour of Holland from January 29-February 10, Amsterdam, Leiden, The Hague, Haarlem, Groningen, Hilversum, Rotterdam, Delft, Hengelo and Utrecht. On return to England, Worcester, Stockport, Kidderminster, Wolverhampton, Barnsley, Birmingham, Norwich, Bournemouth, Brighton, Folkestone, and Manchester.

In February, Provincetown Playhouse, New York City. Directed by John F. Graham.

Opened April 2. The County Players. Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England. Directed by Douglas Quayle.

Opened April 23. The National Theatre, Oslo, Norway. O. Havrevold as Shylock. Directed by Knut Hergel.

April 26-28. Presented by the Blue Masque, Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina. Directed by Burnet M. Hobgood.

July 2-14. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival presented by the Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

July 4. Presented by the Richmond Shakespeare Society. Outdoor performance, the Terrace Gardens, Richmond, England. Directed by Frank Newman.

July 20, 23, 24, 25, for the Canterbury Festival. In the Archdeacon's garden, Canterbury, England.

August 20-21. The Barter Theatre, Abingdon, Virginia. Staged by Margaret Perry.

Opened October 15. The Barter Theatre, Arlington, Virginia.

### *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

Opened May 31 and ran through the Festival. The Old Vic production. Alec Clunes as Ford, Peggy Ashcroft as Mistress Ford, Roger Livesey as Falstaff. Directed by Hugh Hunt.

August 8-25. San Diego Community Theatre and San Diego State College, the Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by B. Iden Payne.

Early in August, for the Festival of Britain. Outdoor production with ballet and orchestra. August 2-4. The Windsor Theatre Guild in the Chapter Gardens, Windsor Castle. Directed by Charles Hunt.

*A Midsummer Night's Dream*

- March 14-24. The Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Directed by David Giles.
- April 16-26. The Wigan Little Theatre. May 6-10, outdoor performances, Wigan, England.
- May 3-12. Harvard Dramatic Club. Outdoor performances, in the Fogg Arbor Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Directed by Tom Billings.
- Opened May 21, ran through the Festival season. The Bankside Players, outdoor performances in Regent's Park, London. Robert Atkins as Bottom. Directed by Robert Atkins.
- During the week of the Bath Assembly. Outdoor performances, in Prior Park, Bath, England. Directed by Glynne Wickham.
- July 2-7. The First Folio Theatre Company. Outdoor performances, in Walpole Park, Ealing, England. Directed by Kenneth McClellan.
- July 18-21. University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Frank M. Whiting.
- One of the plays in the Chipping Campden Festival, England, which opened July 30. Presented by the Osiris Repertory Company. Directed by Nancy Hewins.
- August 4-20. Outdoor performances at the Max Reinhardt Seminar, Vienna.
- August 16-18. Players Club, University of Colorado Theatre, Boulder, Colorado. Directed by George R. Kernodle.
- In September, a Festival production, at the Playhouse, Nottingham, England. Directed by André van Gysegghem.
- Opening December 26. Old Vic Company production in London.

*Much Ado about Nothing*

- In March. Provincetown Playhouse, New York City. Directed by John F. Graham.
- April 10-14. Presented by the Drama Department of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Directed by B. Iden Payne.
- April 12-29. The Pasadena Playhouse, Pasadena, California. Directed by Gilmor Brown and Julia Farnsworth.
- June 9, 10, 16, 17, 22. Yellow Springs Area Theatre. Presented on the front campus of Antioch College, Ohio. Directed by Meredith Dallas.
- July 17-August 4. San Diego Community Theatre and San Diego State College. The Globe Theatre, San Diego, California. Directed by B. Iden Payne.
- July 23-28. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival presented by the Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.
- August 10-19. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival at the Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. Director-manager, Herschel L. Bricker.
- One of the plays given by Players Inc., Catholic University Touring Repertory Company, in their eight-week summer season at St. Michael's College. The Playhouse, Winooski Park, Burlington, Vermont.
- Neues Theater, Duesseldorf, Germany.
- Kammerspiele, Munich, Germany.

*Othello*

- One of the eleven plays given by the British Council's Shakespeare Dramatic Recital Company on their tour of India and Pakistan. See this Company's *Hamlet* entry.
- In February. The London Artists Group, Toynbee Hall, London. Directed by Peter Bucknell.
- May 9-20. The Craftsmen, the Cherry Lane Theatre, New York City. Directed by Prof. Bernard D.N. Grebanier.
- One of the guest productions, The Festival of Berlin, opening September 20. The Old Vic Company of London. Douglas Campbell as Othello. Directed by Michael Langham.
- Opening October 3, Old Vic Company production in London.
- In autumn, for a three-week engagement, the St. James Theatre, London. Orson Welles as Othello. Directed by Orson Welles.
- Theater der Stadt Koblenz, Duesseldorf, Germany.

*Pericles*

June 18-30. Presented by the Norwich Players, the Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by W. Nugent Monck.

*Romeo and Juliet*

After original production, November 28-December 3, 1950 by the Carolina Playmakers, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the Playmakers toured this play from February 5-17 through the state; from April 2-14 through South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Directed by Samuel Selden.

March 10-April 21. The Broadhurst Theatre, New York City. Olivia de Havilland as Juliet. Staged by Peter Glenville. A tour in the autumn.

May 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19. The Illini Theatre Guild, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Directed by Charles Shattuck.

Opened May 19, at the Theatre of Bergen, Bergen, Norway. G. Lökkeberg as Romeo, Babs Christensen as Juliet. Directed by G. Lökkeberg.

June 20-25. University of Denver, Colorado. Directed by Edwin Levy.

June-September. One of plays in repertory of the Festival Shakespeare Players. Guildford, Stratford, Paris, London performances.

August 10-19. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival at the Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. Director-manager, Herschel L. Bricker.

One of the plays in a thirty week repertory beginning in October. The Intimate Theatre Group, Manchester, England. Directed by John English.

October 31-November 10. Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, Yorkshire, England. Directed by David Giles.

Polish Theatre, Warsaw. Directed by Karol Borowski.

*The Taming of the Shrew*

January 12-February 11. The Actors Company, Chicago, Illinois. Directed by Minnie Galatzer. February 15-23. Augustana College Theatre, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Directed by G.B. Dowell.

April 25-May 6. The New York City Theatre Company, at the New York City Center. Ralph Clanton as Petruchio, Clare Luce as Katherine. Directed by Margaret Webster.

Opened May 21. The Bristol Old Vic Company, at the Royal, Bristol, England. Directed by Denis Carey.

June 18-30. The Norwich Players, the Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by W. Nugent Monck.

June 27, 28, 29, 30. The Athénée, Paris. Jacques Amyrian as Petruchio, Daniele Condamin as Katherine. Directed by Henri Grangé.

Beginning July 5, the University of Bristol Dramatic Society Players summer tour of Somerset, England. *The Taming of the Shrew* one of the two plays offered.

Autumn production planned by the Guildford Theatre, Guildford, England.

In October. The State Theatre Company, Ankara, Turkey. Cüneyt Gökger as Petruchio, Muazzez Lutas as Katherine. Directed by Cüneyt Gökger.

Städtische Buehne, Duisburg, Germany.

Städtische Buehne, Bochum, Germany.

*The Tempest*

Opened June 26. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Michael Redgrave as Prospero, Alan Badel as Ariel. Directed by Michael Benthall.

July 16-21. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival, presented by the Earle Grey Players, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.

August 10-19. One of the plays in the Shakespeare Festival at the Camden Hills Theatre, Camden, Maine. Director-manager, Herschel L. Bricker.

In August. For the Festival of Britain. The Marlowe Society, at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Dryden-Davenant version of the play, with music by Purcell. Directed by Donald Beves.

October 26-November 10. Catholic University Theatre, Washington, D. C.

November 14-19. The Masquers. Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

### *Troilus and Cressida*

Staedtische Buehne, Bochum, Germany.

Opernhaus, Duesseldorf, Germany.

### *Twelfth Night*

Opened November 14, 1950. Old Vic Company, opening in the remodelled Old Vic Theatre which was bombed during the war. Alec Clunes as Orsino, Roger Livesey as Sir Toby Belch, Paul Rogers as Malvolio, Peggy Ashcroft as Viola. Directed by Hugh Hunt. Production later toured Oxford, Edinburgh, Manchester, and Brighton.

February 1, 2, 3. Three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of first production by the Lord Chamberlain's Company. Middle Temple Hall, London, England. Donald Wolfitt Company. Directed by Donald Wolfitt.

February 9-18, June 20-23. The University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Frank M. Whiting.

March 12. His Majesty's Theatre, Barrow-in-Furness, England. Presented by Richard Stephenson's Saxon Players.

May 12-13. Webster College, Webster Groves, St. Louis, Missouri. Directed by Harry R. McClain.

Commencing May 17, a tour. Poetry and Plays in Pubs in England. The Taverners. Directed by Henry McCarthy.

Presented during the Perth Arts Festival, May 27-June 16. The Perth Repertory Theatre, Perth, Scotland. Directed by Edmund Bailey. Production followed by extensive tour of Scottish industrial areas.

May 29-June 2. New College Dramatic Society, in the Gardens of New College, Oxford, England. Directed by A. Davies.

June 5-July 1. Arena Stage, Inc., Washington, D.C. Zelda Fichandler, director.

June-September. One of plays in repertory of the Festival Shakespeare Players. Guildford, Oxford, Stratford, Paris, London performances.

July 25, for a month. The Open Air Theatre, Torre Abbey, Torquay, England.

August 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Oregon. Angus L. Bowmer, producing director.

August 6, 9. For the Festival of Britain. Presented by the Old Stagers, the Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, England. Directed by Sir Giles Isham.

### *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

February 28-March 10. Green Room Players, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

April 26-May 7. The Questors, Ealing, London. Directed by Alfred Emmet.

May 3-4. St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. Directed by Elizabeth W. Kelsey.

August 13-18. For the Festival of Britain. Presented by the Marlowe Society, The Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by John Barton.

### *The Winter's Tale*

Opened November 6, 1950. Comédie Française, Paris. French version by Claude-André Puget. Jean Davy as Leontes, Annie Ducaux as Hermione. Directed by Julien Bertheau.



April 21, 23, 28. Morley College actors commemorated Shakespeare's three hundred and eighty-seventh birthday by an outdoor performance in the courtyard of the George Inn, Southwark, London. Directed by Archie Harradine.

Opened June 27, ran through Festival season. The Phoenix Theatre, London. John Gielgud as Leontes, Diana Wynyard as Hermione. Directed by Peter Brook. Following the London production, engagements in Coventry, Edinburgh.

In October. Newport Players, Newport, England.

THE  
MOST LA  
mentable Romaine  
Tragedie of Titus Andronicus:

As it was Plaide by the Right Ho-  
nourable the Earle of *Darbie*, Earle of *Pembrooke*,  
and Earle of *Sussex* their Seruants,



LONDON,  
Printed by Iohn Danter, and are  
to be sold by *Edward White & Thomas Millington*,  
at the little North doore of Paules at the  
signe of the Gunne,  
1594.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE UNIQUE COPY OF THE FIRST  
QUARTO OF *TITUS ANDRONICUS* (1594) IN THE  
FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

## REVIEWS

*The Meaning of Shakespeare.* By HAROLD C. GODDARD. The University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xii + 691. \$6.00.

In spite of its pretentious title this recent interpretation reveals not *the* meaning of Shakespeare but the pattern of meanings which the vibrant and enthusiastic teacher, the late Harold Clark Goddard, discovered in the "myriad-minded" dramatist. Convinced that Shakespeare is primarily a poet who by his comprehensive imagination conceals himself from the crowd and reveals himself only to those rare individuals who seek his spirit and are not the fools of time, Dr. Goddard magnifies the importance of subjective criticism. Much of what he calls "academic criticism" (textual, historical, theatrical) he wipes off the slate on the authority of Sonnet 123.

No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change:  
Thy pyramids built up with newer might  
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange;  
They are but dressings of a former sight.  
Our dates are brief, and therefore we admire  
What thou dost foist upon us that is old;  
And rather make them born to our desire  
Than think that we before have heard them told.  
Thy registers and thee I both defy,  
Not wondering at the present nor the past,  
For thy records and what we see doth lie,  
Made more or less by thy continual haste.  
This I do vow, and this shall ever be,  
I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee.

Essential to an understanding of Goddard's critical approach are the key chapters, "The Integrity of Shakespeare" and "The Poet-Playwright." On page 13 of his 691-page book, he frankly admits his ego-centric predicament: "In the end, whatever its pretensions, any new book about Shakespeare can be no more than just one other man's experience with him."

What then is the thesis and what are the patterns this critic finds in Shakespeare? The thesis is that Shakespeare, in spite of the multiplicity of his work in poetry and drama over the years, maintained a consistent "integrated" view of life. The components of this integration, to list the chief ones, are, however, Goddard's own: Emersonian idealism, the intuition of the poet, mystic vision after Blake, derivatives of psychoanalytic study and the meaning of dreams, and always an extreme pacifism and an intensely sober and inflexible Puritan morality which Shakespeare's characters disobey at their peril. For many readers who prefer to take their Shakespeare less seriously, these urgencies of Goddard's philosophic faith and the moral lesson issuing from characters and events become irksome, especially when some of them like Romeo of Verona and Portia of Belmont are held up as examples of "prime failure" and others like Caesar disregarding the Soothsayer are said to indicate that "Shakespeare was growing more convinced that we neglect dreams and dreamers at our peril." Yet one may find arresting the succeeding statement that "from *Julius Caesar* on, his greater characters and greater plays are touched with the dream-light and

dream-darkness of something that as certainly transcends the merely human as do the prophets and sibyls of Michelangelo" (p. 308).

Much of the interpretation throughout is confused by Goddard's employment of the conscious-unconscious technique of the Freudians. Brutus' Portia

is all that is fine in his unconscious nature [p. 313]. Hamlet's "mother" is then on one side his creativeness—and on the other side his sensuality. The one he loves; the other he loathes. We see him in the play fluctuating between the two. And he responds in a similar ambivalent way to his two "fathers." One, his sun and the source of his inspiration, is the product of that idealization of the older generation by the younger which insures the continuity and, in so far as it is justified, the uplifting of life. This father Hamlet worships. The other is a type of that authority and violence that the racial father always represents and that his own father—specifically incarnates. This father, however unconsciously, Hamlet abhors [pp. 346-347].

How does anyone know what Hamlet loves or abhors unconsciously? Another novel reason of the unconscious is given for Cordelia's behavior.

Cordelia loves her father deeply and sincerely, but underplays her confession of affection—partly from a congenital truthfulness and hatred of display that bends backward at the hypocrisy of her sisters, *but even more, perhaps, through well-grounded fear, possibly unconscious, that if her father's plan goes through she will be given to the worldly Burgundy whom she could only have despised rather than to the unworldly France whom she loves* [p. 524, italics mine].

Interpretation of this sort, against which the veteran E. E. Stoll has protested endlessly, obscures rather than illuminates.

This confusion is intensified by Goddard's method which flounders between the Scylla and Charybdis of decision and indecision in a kind of double talk that illustrates, one supposes, "the protean character of words" and the Delphic ambiguity of poetry. Ranging from the inanities of quaking school-girl criticisms through the intricate subtleties of Dostoevsky, and into the stubborn eccentricities of personal opinion, one presently discovers that temperamental preferences really determine the author's judgment. This is the principal fault of the book. Never did a work of Shakespeare interpretation better illustrate Emerson's dictum: "I would write on the lintels of the door-post, *Whim*." Frequent references to other unrelated books, authors, and ideas interrupt rather than clarify the text. With the abandon implicit in his method, Dr. Goddard effervesces in paradoxes, antithetical arguments, astounding parallels, and imperspicuous concepts. Following leads from a character to a symbol to perhaps another character or incident or problem may be an interesting pastime; it is, however, forbiddingly discursive and, in the end, resting as it does on ipse dixits, convinces only the originator.

To illustrate "the integrity of Shakespeare, by which I mean the psychic interdependence of those works and their consequent power to illuminate one another" (p. 591), Dr. Goddard moves from character to character and from play to play with an amazing facility and a doubtful prescience, converting all to his purpose: "The imaginative germ of *Antony and Cleopatra* is found in Romeo's opening speech in the fifth act of *Romeo and Juliet*" (p. 591); "the

change in Cleopatra parallels a change of like character in her creator" (p. 589); "That is Macbeth gazing back, as it were, into his Hamletian past—, quite as Hamlet looks forward into his Macbethian future" (p. 497); in Hamlet's defiance of augury, rephrasing a speech of Feeble's, Shakespeare places (not consciously, of course) "the indelible stamp of feebleness in Hamlet's philosophy of fate" (p. 377); "*Exit Ulysses, as the mousetrap springs*,— for he leaves Achilles as securely caught in the toils of his pride as Claudius was in those of his guilt" (p. 406).

Character analysis of Mercutio (pp. 120-131) indicates Dr. Goddard's method of constraining argument to confirm his bias. Citing Mercutio and the Nurse as two of the impurest characters Shakespeare ever created, Goddard pronounces finally that all who are seduced by Mercutio are not good judges of him. What about the Queen Mab lines? "The prankish delicacy of some of them stands out in pleasing contrast with his grosser aspects. The psychology of this is sound" (p. 123), for Shakespeare is not likely to leave out the finer side of a sensualist. Few passages have been more praised for the wrong reasons. Mercutio's lines, fantasy at most, serve "as an example of what poetry is popularly held to be and is not" (p. 123). In addition they point up the imaginative excellence of true poetry as it resides in Romeo and Juliet. All of this seems a fruitless attempt to dispraise Mercutio in a negative effort to praise Romeo and Juliet. This treatment of the Nurse and Mercutio is particularly unfortunate. He sees their roles

crowded with parallelisms even down to what seem like the most trivial details. "We'll to dinner thither," says Mercutio, for example, parting from Romeo in Act II, scene 4. "Go, I'll to dinner," says the Nurse on leaving Juliet at the end of scene 5. A tiny touch. But they are just the two who would be certain never to miss a meal. In Shakespeare even such trifles have significance [pp. 121-122].

Again and again Dr. Goddard confirms his hatred of war and violence by calling them atavism. Since he is treated at death as if he were a warrior, Hamlet's "is the story of the Minotaur over again, of that monster who from the beginning of human strife has exacted his annual tribute of youth" (p. 381). Not the last sacrifice, *Hamlet* serves as an allegory for our time (p. 382). In Henry V's speech before the battle, Goddard sees only a selling of the lion's skin in advance; for the battle bred a century of plagues for England. "It is never safe to overlook the metaphors in Shakespeare" (p. 247). "Like Henry V's, all the elder Hamlet's conquests have been for nothing—for less than nothing. Fortinbras, his former enemy, is to inherit the kingdom! Such is the end to which the Ghost's thirst for vengeance has led" (p. 381).

Whenever Dr. Goddard develops the symbolism and thematic structure to fit his predilections, as he does far too often, the reader sees Shakespeare distorted—in Dr. Goddard's mirror. *Love's Labour's Lost* is founded in "the doctrine that mental and spiritual, like physical, procreation is bisexual" (p. 53); "the Battle of Agincourt was the royal equivalent of the Gadshill robbery" (p. 260); stealing is the theme of Henry IV; "—it is Othello, not Desdemona, who really lies about the handkerchief" (p. 473); "'this fellow in the cellarage'— is in keeping with Shakespeare's frequent use of symbolism that associates what is physically low with what is morally wrong" (p. 341); (of Hal's courting Kate) "Imagine Shakespeare's genuine warrior lover, Othello, speaking to Desdemona in that vein!" (p. 264). Others ad infinitum.

Two or three longer quotations may serve to illustrate the quicksilver of Goddard's mind and the nature of his poetic excrescences. On the basis of the free association method of analytical psychology for bringing to the surface the contents of the unconscious mind, Hamlet's play upon the cloud becomes

A camel, a weasel, and a whale! A camel—the beast that bears burdens. A weasel—an animal noted for its combined wildness and ferocity and for the fact that it can capture and kill snakes (remember the royal serpent!). A whale—a mammal that *returned to a lower element* and so still has to come to the surface of it occasionally for air, not a land creature, to be sure, nor yet quite a sea creature. What an astonishing essay on Hamlet in three words! (It is things like these that tempt one at moments to think that Shakespeare *was* omniscient.) (P. 357)

An astonishing essay, to be sure! And Goddard concludes that the entire play becomes dependent upon the symbol, "*water*—the oldest and most universal symbol for the unconscious."

How natural that recession into or under water should represent atavism. Over and over Shakespeare so uses it in the last two acts of *Hamlet*. The first two acts were the camel—they treated of Hamlet's burden. The third was the weasel—it was dedicated to hot blood. The last two are the whale—they tell how Hamlet was swallowed by the "monster" of the unconscious. "Very like a whale." And Hamlet is not the only one who is so swallowed [p. 374].

It is Goddard's interpretation of *Othello* that reduces the method to further absurdity. There the dividing character "like a cell that bifurcates, Hamlet in the next world—that is, in *Othello*—divides into Desdemona and Iago" (p. 456)—and "Where still other parts go will be seen later" (p. 457). With Dr. Goddard one may truly say, "The differences are, admittedly, abysmal," and less certainly, "but the affinity is clear" (p. 214). Page Mr. Anton A. Raven! "There Are More Things, Horatio,"—

To a confirmed Aristotelian, Professor Goddard's lack of stage sense renders many of his arguments untenable. Dedicated worship of the creative imagination and a didactic urgency blind Dr. Goddard to an appreciation of the magic of the theatre. "'Theater' must become drama and, if possible, poetry" (p. 26) succinctly emphasizes his distinctions. Whenever he notes obvious use of ingenuity to obtain effect, as he does, for example, in *The Comedy of Errors*, this extremely serious critic detects dereliction for which even the characters apologize. Tempted by the theater, the sensitive Shakespeare early learned to transmute and subdue his talent and refrained from "prostituting such gifts to popularity" (p. 589).

What a warning to scholars and commentators *Love's Labour's Lost* is! If the truth that it teaches is applicable to its author's own works (including this one), their secret will never be revealed to mere erudition or learning on the one hand nor to mere romantic glorification on the other. And, above all, those academic elucidations of them that aspire to be purely objective and scorn the introduction of any personal element in their interpretation come under its specific condemnation of sterility. A play's prosperity, we might almost say, paralleling the words of Rosalind,

A play's prosperity lies in the ear  
Of him that hears it, never in the pen  
Of him that writes it. (P. 54)

*As You Like It* may contain (in Touchstone's trifling with Audrey) "sure-fire stuff" as theater but "As life it comes close to being the sin against the Holy Ghost" (p. 289); the gardeners (who succeed) in *Richard II* may be a casual hint that there is another way between the doctrine of divine right and the belief in the rule of the strong man (p. 160); and "In her own way, and on a lower level, Rosalind contributes her mite to our understanding of why Dante chose the Rose as a symbol of the ultimate paradise" (p. 293); *Twelfth Night* marks the end of festivity and its theme is rescue from drowning; "No character in *Hamlet* itself illuminates the Prince of Denmark more than Cordelia does (p. 524). Dr. Goddard much prefers projecting in his imagination the character he admires to having "some obliterating actress come between the text and his heart" (p. 293). And yet an unsuspected respect for histrionic ability creeps into this critical aberration:

Ham: The Mouse-trap, Marry, how? Trapically.

It is generally printed "tropically." The editor has to choose between the two. But Hamlet of course means both, and the actor must somehow achieve the two in one. The pun shows that Hamlet's unconscious is taking command [p. 366].

Although the critic rightly admits, here and there, that the great artist controlled his medium, Dr. Goddard's contempt for the drama invalidates his conclusions. His interpretation remains always in the nether-nether land of private judgment. Goddard is at his best when this judgment measures what lies within the scope of his personal poetic vision: the dual interpretation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, the traditional rowdy and the subtler topsy-turvy one; "*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a kind of fugue with four voices "match'd in mouth like bells,| Each under each." (p. 77); *Measure for Measure* "fairly bristles with disconcerting analogies and moral paradoxes—" (p. 450); and *The Winter's Tale* illustrates the eternal moment. About *Macbeth*, Dr. Goddard writes vividly and intelligently so long as he keeps to exposition of the play. He contributes at least two interesting ideas, a further refinement of De-Quincey's "knocking at the gate" and his elaboration of Paton's original discussion of *Macbeth* as the third murderer.

Like most Puritan sentimentalists, Dr. Goddard exhibits an egotistic playfulness at times but lacks any appreciation of broad humor. Professing to see Falstaff as a man fundamentally sound, Dr. Goddard narrows his appreciation to the "immortal" Falstaff whom Henry never should have rejected. To the lusty knight's Rabelaisian wit—the "immoral" Falstaff—he seems unresponsive. Touchstone is to him so repellent that his philosophy is "rotten in the full implication of the horticultural metaphor" (p. 288).

To this eccentricity of moralisms and confusion of method, a particularized vocabulary and a series of injunctions contribute added irritation. One has always to cope with the "parabolic level," the "hermaphroditic man," the "analogy," "a very superfluity of integrity" (p. 16), as well as "You plunge into a poem as you plunge into battle—at your peril" (p. 337), "So similar, yet so antipodal!" (p. 197), "Beware of what you play—it will come true" (p. 207), variations of "If there is any truth in all this—", and dicta like "Scorn is a



diluted form of murder" (p. 357). Confidential, hortatory, patronizing, the author might have improved his text by permitting some severe pruning and excision.

Finding panacea in his dogmatism, Dr. Goddard subordinates all interpretations of the plays to conform with his version of the statement he borrows from Keats, "Shakespeare led a life of allegory: his works are the comments on it" (p. 15 and p. 589). Consciously or unconsciously, Goddard argues, the sensitive spirit that was Shakespeare's develops specific themes which if obeyed would resolve life's conflicts. Shakespeare's life exhibits an unbroken spiritual development from the ideas implicit in his earliest poems and plays to *Hamlet* and culminating in *The Tempest* in

We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.

By painstaking elaboration, Goddard determines that the key word "on" (As dreams are made *on*) indicates that imagination is imposed on matter. If this be *The Meaning of Shakespeare*, one should have been cushioned for the fall. The foregone conclusion destroys the pleasure of the dramatic image; it lacks even the customary afflatus of Dr. Goddard's flights.

By comparison, Donald A. Stauffer's *Shakespeare's World of Images*, based on a like assumption that "all great works of art reflect the convictions of their creators"<sup>1</sup> is far superior in coherence, conception, and style. Admittedly controversial as his thesis is, Stauffer's book remains eminently readable. More valuable and serene are his poetic insights, saner and more elastic his judgments, more cogent his arguments, and less cluttered his exegeses.

The world of poetry presents not fact but fiction; the world of criticism interprets the existent fiction. Unable to preserve the distinction between judgment and invention, the new criticism strays far into error. Based on the chimera of conjecture, its method to uncover meanings established in images, patterns, and themes which are said to reflect Shakespeare's spiritual progress and convictions is incurably irresponsible and romantic. It is oblivious to what is, for what might be. Its questionable assumption is that criticism should be intuitive and moralistic rather than logical and aesthetic. Upon it, however, the new critic hazards his irrational opinions or imposes his rigid schematism. As his measure becomes the more personal and accidental, he abrogates the universality necessary alike to fine art and to criticism.

ROBERT M. SMITH

*Lehigh University*

*Sir Walter Raleigh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism.* By ERNEST A. STRATHMANN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. Pp. [xi] + 292. \$3.75.

The purpose of this study is to define Sir Walter Raleigh's religious and philosophical beliefs with particular reference to the charges of atheism brought against him in his own time and to the more recent association of his name with the "School of Night" supposedly referred to in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Pro-

<sup>1</sup> "Postscript," *The World of Images* (New York, 1949), p. 358.

fessor Strathmann's book, the fruit of years of painstaking and thoughtful research, represents by far the most careful appraisal of Raleigh's position in the intellectual life of his time that we have. The complete assimilation of all the relevant materials, the exact documentation of the argument, and the judiciousness of the treatment mark this work as authoritative.

The study begins with a survey of the evidence concerning Raleigh's contemporary reputation as an "atheist" and an examination of the varieties of meaning attached to this charge so freely exchanged in Renaissance polemics. The author then shows that no ground of religious unorthodoxy was found against Raleigh at the Cerne Abbas inquiry into Raleigh's famous conversation at Sir George Trenchard's supper party in 1593; that none of the known facts of Raleigh's associations with other men offer any ground for the charge; and that the charge finds its chief basis in the attacks of Robert Parsons and other Roman Catholic polemicists. Since similar charges were brought against Leicester, Burghley, Hatton, and other members of Elizabeth's Council, as well as the Queen herself, in the same contexts, this "authority" need not be taken very seriously.

The following systematic examination of Raleigh's opinions, recorded in his writings, concerning God, the soul, the Bible, ethics and science, shows that Raleigh fully shared the religious orthodoxy of his time. The only sense in which he may justly be called a skeptic concerns his questioning attitude in dealing with "second causes." Philosophically, he inclined toward the attitude of the Academics—though he did not go so far as Montaigne toward Pyrrhonism. He was not a systematic skeptic, but he was disposed to question traditional philosophical authority, especially that of Aristotle and the schoolmen, and chose to play an active role in furthering the new discoveries of science and exploration, even at the cost of acquiring the reputation for general unorthodoxy, "Machiavellianism," and atheism.

In the light of these findings about Raleigh's actual opinions, there can be little reason to associate Raleigh with a "School of Night," if such a group is pictured as encouraging any departures from orthodox religious thought. Professor Strathmann does not commit himself to challenging the hypothesis of such a "School," but he has withdrawn one of its most promising pupils.

For the student of Shakespeare, the value of this study is both general and specific. It provides a convenient point of reference for the religious and philosophical thought of Shakespeare's time, and the meeting ground of the two, as represented by one of the most keen-minded and influential of Shakespeare's contemporaries. At the same time, it discourages insubstantial speculations about references to Raleigh in Shakespeare's plays, speculations which are not merely unsupported by evidence but which may put a very misleading light upon Shakespeare's serious activities and concerns as a dramatist. Professor Strathmann offers us instead a clear-cut definition of Raleigh's actual importance as a thinker, a definition based upon everything that is known about Raleigh's career and upon his extant writings, especially the *History of the World*, for which Professor Strathmann's book affords a valuable commentary. Our understanding of Raleigh's significance in his time cannot but be enhanced by this study, the more so because it is in no sense a piece of special pleading but presents the evidence clearly and dispassionately so that the reader may judge for himself.

HAROLD S. WILSON

University of Toronto

*Elizabethan Acting*. By B. L. JOSEPH. London: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. [x] + 157. \$3.50.

The present volume, second of the Oxford English Monographs, is a discussion of the probable style of acting on the Elizabethan stage as it bears upon critical problems presented by the dramatic texts. The material is mainly from Renaissance works on oratory and rhetoric, and the conclusion is that Elizabethan acting was "rhetorical," so that we should be "prepared to respond to Elizabethan drama in the same attitude of mind as we respond to opera or ballet. . . ." The most novel work cited is John Bulwer's *Chirologia* and *Chironomia*, two discourses published in one volume in 1644, and describing with illustrative cuts the proper use of the hands in rhetorical delivery. It is a little disturbing to learn that Bulwer was an educator of the deaf and dumb, but the cuts are interesting and relevant, and the volume may be placed at the head of the long procession of English works offering guidance to elocutionists by picturing "attitudes." Mr. Joseph's other find appears mysteriously as "MS. Ashmole 768." All we ever learn of it is that it belonged to "earlier generations" than Steele's *Tatler*, that it is "on rhetoric," and that Mr. Joseph quotes persistently and exclusively from page 541. No mention is made of MS. Sloane 3709, the anonymous *Cyprian Conqueror* with preface drawn from the *Onomasticon* and similar works, although I called attention to it some years ago and elicited comment from Sir Edmund Chambers. The work is dispensable, but it does provide the documentary link between Renaissance oratory and acting, and renders not quite true Mr. Joseph's statement that there are "no renaissance works which set out specifically to expound the theory and practice of stage playing." One further word may be said upon materials. In using works like Sir Richard Baker's *Theatrum Triumphans*, we should remember that the stage of 1670 is not the stage of 1600.

The body of the discussion concerns the emphasis of Renaissance education upon "learning by rote" (certainly pertinent to actors), upon imitation (respect for precedents), and upon proper and particular modes of articulating and gesturing. From time to time, especially in the later chapters, Mr. Joseph relates the material drawn from the rhetorical arts to what actors may have done at certain moments in certain plays. The chapter on decorum and characterization notes that a nobleman's villainy and a commoner's villainy would have been acted out differently. This is no doubt true, but when we realize that the plays present us with kingly, lordly, knightly, gentlemanly, shop-keeperly, bumpkinly villainy, virtue, heroism, cowardice, scurrility, slackness, and absurdity, we must recognize that the principle of decorum must have suffered considerable strain, with little practical guidance to be found by the actors in Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*. Some of the critical comments are illuminating, some a little capricious. It is the ability of the peasant Tamburlaine to act so much like a king, says Mr. Joseph, that "marks him as a monster, a prodigy." But which? We have been debating the point for some time. "Timon," says Mr. Joseph, "is the supreme sham; there is nothing inside him at all; that is why he can be called Misanthropos." Since another reason occurs to us, we wonder if Mr. Joseph has not simply discovered that *Timon of Athens* is, for Shakespeare, a somewhat hollow play.

In reading *Elizabethan Acting*, I have had the curious sensation of reading a learned exposition of views I held twelve years ago, but which have since lost much of their appeal. Evidently Mr. Joseph has not read my "Elizabethan

Acting" (*PMLA*, LIV, Sept. 1939, 685-708), but he repeats an error I made in my article. What are we to do with contemporary testimony like the following, missed by both of us:

Are plowmen simple fellows nowadays?  
 Not so, my masters; what means Singer then,  
 And Pope, the clown, to speak so boorish when  
 They counterfeit the clowns upon the stage?  
 Since country fellows grow in this same age  
 To be so quaint in their new-printed speech  
 That cloth will now compare with velvet breech.

When these lines appeared in Samuel Rowland's *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, 1600, Pope and Singer were rival comic actors, one at the Globe, one at the Fortune. Both "counterfeited" clowns (peasants) in the same way, and the way was traditional. So far, we might say, we have evidence for formalized acting. But observe that the frame of reference of the ironical commentator was the way peasants actually *did* behave. Pope and Singer were conventionalizing, but conventionalizing from life: they were mimics. We today upon our stage have mimicry, so-called "character-acting," and something else, sometimes called "straight acting." The Elizabethans must have had the same things. What I once said, and what Mr. Joseph is now saying, applies to Elizabethan "straight acting," which was certainly more rhetorical or elocutionary than ours, but the "straight" acting and "character" acting could not have been wholly distinct then any more than they are today. After visualizing Hamlet's deportment in delivering his soliloquies, we should try to visualize it as he chats with the grave-diggers. Different parts of Elizabethan plays are different, sometimes intimate, sometimes the reverse; sometimes "realistic," sometimes the reverse; sometimes in verse, sometimes in prose. The dialogue is sometimes an alternation of orations, sometimes snatches of conversation with every commonplace intonation preserved. Mr. Joseph copes earnestly with Mr. Eliot's view that, as he puts it, the Elizabethans were "inconsistent in the use of their own conventions." Surely he must see that the words are meaningless. What an age does *is* its conventions. All the words can possibly mean is that the Elizabethans were inconsistent in the use of what the modern critic thinks their conventions ought to have been.

I still believe and hope that at this point I am agreeing with Mr. Joseph, that the emphasis in modern productions of Shakespeare should be wholly upon the lines, and that every Shakespearian cast should have behind it a school of elocution. In recent years I have been meeting a good many actors and producers. They are one in their devotion to Shakespeare, and conviction that his poetry is a remediable defect.

ALFRED HARBAGE

Columbia University

*The Complete Works of Shakespeare*. Edited by HARDIN CRAIG. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1951. Pp. [xii] + [1338]. \$6.50.

This, the latest one-volume Shakespeare, edited by one of the most eminent scholars in the field, and published by Scott, Foresman, is a monumental achievement. There are, of course, many single-volume editions in which the

work of Shakespeare in its entirety is made available to the student and general reader. Professor Craig's book surpasses any comparable one known to me in amount of material for interpreting the plays and poems, both individually and as an artistic whole. Its apparatus covers with remarkable thoroughness the facts and historical background ordinarily found in a separate handbook.

It goes without saying that the resulting volume is a sizeable one—1337 double-column pages—but by a judicious combination of large page, fine paper, and small but legible type, the book has been made both portable and manageable in the hands.

A list of the topics covered—without a hint of haste or superficiality—in the General Introduction will reveal the competence of the editor for his task: Life in Shakespeare's England; The Drama before Shakespeare; London Theaters and Dramatic Companies; The Order of Shakespeare's Plays; His Dramatic Development; Shakespeare Criticism: How to Read Shakespeare; Editions, Editors, and Actors of Shakespeare—Shakespeare through the Ages; Shakespeare's English; A Note on Doubtful and Lost Plays. An Account of Shakespeare's Life and Works then follows and in addition each play or group of plays, each poem or group of poems is preceded by a substantial discussion of its publication, date, plot, literary merit, stage history, and special problems—relation to the source, topical allusions, divided authorship, or whatever is necessary. When it is added that under the first of the topics listed, "Life in Shakespeare's England," no fewer than twenty-two aspects are treated at an average length of 750 words, and that the whole of the General Introduction is on the same scale, it should be clear that the editor is a master of informative condensation. Nor does he fall into the error, all too frequent among compilers, of failing to point out at every turn the relevancy of his facts and ideas to the central enterprise of understanding and appreciating Shakespeare.

Carefully selected bibliographies follow each section of the work. A 25-page index to the introductions and notes is a boon in itself. And the text is engagingly broken up by some eighty illustrations, many of them new even to experienced readers of Elizabethan works, being drawn from rare volumes in the Folger and Huntington Libraries.

The editor of a one-volume Shakespeare for general use is confronted with three crucial problems: the arrangement of the plays and poems, the choice of a text, and the placing of the notes on vocabulary and grammar. On all of these points Professor Craig seems to the writer to have taken the forward-looking course. Too many compilers have remained under the spell of the traditional Comedies—Histories—Tragedies classification of the First Folio (1623), which confusingly presents the uninitiated reader with Shakespeare's last unaided play, *The Tempest*, as the first in the first division, Comedies. What is needed is a volume which—without sacrificing other valuable helps—presents the plays in the order in which the editor believes Shakespeare wrote them, and this Professor Craig's book goes far toward giving us, by dividing Shakespeare's productive career into "The Early Period," "The Period of Comedies and Histories," "The Period of Tragedies," and "The Period of Romances," and then arranging the works in traditional groups within these periods. It is especially valuable to show the poems and sonnets contemporaneous with *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, and other plays of Shakespeare's "lyric period."

In the matter of text, Professor Craig has—wisely, I feel—refrained from adding another to the long list of would-be "definitive" texts of Shakespeare but instead reproduces the standard Globe rendering (with certain necessary

revisions in the case of *King Lear* and *Richard III*). As for the text notes, they are put in the only place where the American student or general reader will use them, viz., at the bottom of each column.

Many other features of this excellent book deserve discussion, but space permits the mention of but two: the addition of a well-selected 350-word glossary to save repetition in the text notes, and the temperate and concise review of recent matters of controversy such as Dr. Hotson's dating of three of the sonnets. But enough has been said to indicate that Professor Craig and his publishers deserve the thanks and congratulations of all readers of Shakespeare.

MATTHEW W. BLACK

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Pageantry on the Shakespearean Stage.* By ALICE S. VENEZKY. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1951. Pp. 242. \$3.50.

Miss Venezky's study "attempts to analyze the influence on the Elizabethan drama of the most popular forms of public display—the procession, pageant, and progress entertainment" (p. 14). The attempt is successful, and not the less so because of a deliberate limitation of the survey to "representative examples" of these often prolix forms of popular entertainment. The materials range from the elaborate symbolic arches of the coronation processions and the lavish entertainments provided by the nobles whom Queen Elizabeth visited on her "progresses" to the pedantic orations of village schoolmasters and the amateur shows also designed to greet and honor the Queen. The four chapters of the book deal with "Entries and Triumphs," "The Royal Reception," "Pageants, Progresses, and Plays," and, with a different approach, "Shakespeare's Pageant Imagery." The plan of the work entails some repetition, but has the advantage of making each part complete within the limits which the author set for herself. Nine reproductions of Renaissance drawings and engravings, a bibliography, an appendix listing with references the "Accounts of Royal Celebrations Referred to in the Text," and an index add to the usefulness of the book.

The familiarity of the theater audience with these didactic entertainments, especially with the processions and allegorical "pageants," made it possible for the dramatists to use them in a variety of ways. Most obvious was the representational use: in the historical plays scenes of triumph and royal entries called for the same kind of pageantry that was part of the contemporary scene. But the dramatists were not content merely to transfer the contemporary spectacle to the historical scene. They borrowed the familiar symbols of pageants and processions to emphasize a moral theme, and they used the ceremonious entry to provide a rich setting for suspense and dramatic climax (e.g., the entry of the Duke in the last scene of *Measure for Measure*). Pageant devices such as the disappearance of clouds at the approach of the king (the sun) and the tableau of the ideal monarch (cynically adopted by Richard III when, with a clergyman on either side, he feigns reluctance to accept the kingship) were readily translated into the language and business of the stage, again effectively because the audience had some acquaintance with the originals. Nor is it only the richly designed arches and the lavish entertainments that reappear in language and action. Theseus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has a "Master



of the Revels" and receives graciously the ludicrous efforts of Bottom and his crew; and a schoolmaster directs the entertainment provided in *Love's Labour's Lost*. It is interesting to note also, as an incidental result of Miss Venezky's study, how Shakespeare's use of this material for purposes of comedy parallels that of contemporary dramatists.

The discussion of "Shakespeare's Pageant Imagery" (Chapter IV) leaves room for doubt concerning the interpretation of specific passages. One can readily agree that "while many of the allusions in the Elizabethan drama have become exclusively literary today, they suggested to the original audiences specific visual images" (p. 173); and most of the passages which Miss Venezky quotes as examples of pageant imagery are, without question, more vivid when associated with the often-used symbols of pageants and tableaux. In a few instances her familiarity with these sources may have led her to an over-subtle reading of the lines. For example, I am not convinced that an Elizabethan audience would mark in the description of the single-handed victory of Caius Marcius at the gates of Corioli verbal echoes of "the details of a triumphal entry," or would contrast his solitary departure from Rome with his hero's welcome (p. 187). Such differences of opinion about details, however, leave the thesis of Chapter IV unimpaired.

The value of Miss Venezky's study lies not in the novelty of her materials, but in her selection and interpretation of them. Spenser scholars have drawn upon the pageant materials to interpret the allegory of *The Faerie Queene*, and the extensive commentary on Elizabethan drama includes numerous citations of parallels between stage plays and popular entertainments. Miss Venezky has not only extended the work of her predecessors but has also, in her analysis of the pervasive influence of the pageant materials upon scene and language in Elizabethan drama, given shape and meaning to the relationship.

ERNEST A. STRATHMANN

Pomona College

*Shakespeare Revealed*. By LEONARD DOBBS. Edited with an Introductory Memoir by HUGH KINGSMILL. [London]: Skeffington and Son, Ltd., [1951]. Pp. 222. 15s.

"Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter." Some such romanticism animates this book. According to its dust-jacket, the theme of *Shakespeare Revealed* is "that Shakespeare's personality—in common with that of every artist—is set out in his plays. . . . Basing his theory on the well-known Elizabethan taste for involved allegory and elaborate top dressing of literary material, the author maintains and seeks to prove that there is to be found in the bulk of Shakespeare's works a clear and consistent thread of self-revelatory symbolism which, when interpreted, can be made to supply the essential facts not only of Shakespeare's own life but even a clear indication of his mental make-up and psychological development and history." As such, this book attempts nothing new; it explores a problem that has been perennially fascinating to Shakespearians, particularly those of the nineteenth century. Such speculation has been various, and the results thus far have been more revealing of the critics than of Shakespeare. The present volume is no exception.

"Others abide our question," wrote Matthew Arnold, "thou art free, out-topping knowledge." With such idolatrous sentiments Leonard Dobbs will



have nothing to do. He looks beyond the plays as mere plays and the characters as mere figures in a dramatic story and seeks "for hidden inner meanings." His method of peering behind "the surface mask of story and character" is clearly explained. The first requisite is "to resist the spell that has been deliberately woven by the author to hide what we are seeking. Secondly, it is necessary to ignore the details of the ostensible story of the play we are considering, so that we may grasp its prevailing spirit. Thirdly, we must direct our attention particularly to all 'difficult' aspects of the play—the passages, important or insignificant, in which Shakespeare has departed from the ostensible source, either in plot or characterization; passages we might wish he had written otherwise; and, finally, those passages which, because of their allegedly un-Shakespearean quality, it was once the fashion to attribute to other writers. In this book all such 'difficulties' are regarded as important pointers to hidden sources" (p. 14).

*Shakespeare Revealed* is an individual and an unorthodox book. It sees the dramas of Shakespeare as exhibiting clearly not only the temperament and personality of the author, but also intimately his relations with his fellows—Marlowe, Jonson, Chapman (who is the "rival poet"), Marston, and others. Indeed, Shakespeare used his fellow dramatists as models for the leading characters of some of his plays. Jonson is Trinculo in *The Tempest*, Falstaff in both the *Merry Wives* and *Henry IV*, Jacques in *As You Like It*, Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida*. Chapman is Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* and Touchstone in *As You Like It*, the story of the courtship of Audrey and the dispossession of William being a version of the rivalry between Chapman and Shakespeare (p. 85 ff.). *As You Like It* also is largely autobiographical. Isn't Orlando banished as Shakespeare was after deer stealing? Isn't there a wrestler in the play named Charles, whose overcoming was responsible for the meeting between Orlando and Rosalind? Doesn't the lady invite the young man later to "come every day to my *cote* and woo me" (III. ii)? Why, it must be evident to any formal capacity that here is an allusion to *Charlecote*. Daylight and Champaign discover not more.

Likewise the whole of *Troilus and Cressida* is a satire against Chapman, who is represented by both Diomedes and Achilles, while Marston is Thersites. *Hamlet*, on the other hand, reflects Shakespeare's relations with Marlowe; in it Hamlet (père et fils) is Marlowe and Claudius Shakespeare himself. The play is part envy and part conscience—envy of the "upstart crow" for Marlowe's position, and conscience for having poured "into his ear the poison of satire—the poison of *Titus Andronicus*—just as Claudius poisoned Hamlet's father; and then, like Claudius, usurped the kingdom of the man he had dethroned—that is to say, Marlowe's supremacy in the drama" (p. 119). *Macbeth* has a similar significance. And so it goes. Complicating the whole matter is an interpretation of a more elaborate symbolism in which varying aspects of Shakespeare's art are also set forth. Cressida is a personification of lyricism in literature, and Troilus and Pandarus symbolize two aspects of Shakespeare's art, the first his lyricism and the second his sensuality (p. 132).

In turn Shakespeare is himself satirized in some of the creations of his contemporaries, as Adam Overdo in *Bartholomew Fair*, Jaques in *The Case is Altered*, Puntarvolo in *Every Man Out of His Humor*, and Sir Petronel Flash in *Eastward Ho!* Indeed, there is an amazing unity of satirical give and take in the plays of Shakespeare and some of his fellow playwrights. These works must all be read together.

In addition, two of Shakespeare's dramas, *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale*, are sheer autobiography, the former especially is a full scale allegory describing, with a detail that is too complex even to outline here, Shakespeare's whole dramatic career.

Thus, Shakespeare emerges in a new light—an intellectual and moral reformer, a debunker of all the absurdities produced by the extraordinary age in which he lived. The conceits of the Euphuists, the rant of Marlowe and Kyd, the cynicism of Jonson, the abstract classicism and crabbed puritanism of Chapman, the inhuman ethics of Marston, no less than the tyranny of kings, all came under his lash (p. 145). Shakespeare filled a rôle similar to that of Ibsen and Shaw in modern times, like them using his dramas to change current values.

The whole is not very convincing. It is brilliant theorizing rather than either scholarship or criticism and, if ingenious, quite far-fetched at times. Friends and acquaintances of the late author (he was the nephew of Mrs. Sidney Webb) will be his most interested and sympathetic readers, for in this book they may find much that reveals and explains him. As Mr. Kingsmill writes in his introduction: "Leonard was not sufficiently interested in human beings to realize that, while a self-centered poet like Wordsworth could devote a long poem to the history of his own mind, a dramatic poet does not construct his plays as parables of his own development as a dramatist." Others have made the same mistake.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

*New York University*

*An Explanatory Introduction to Thorpe's Edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609, with Text Transcription.* By C[LARA] LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN. Aldington, Kent: The Hand and Flower Press, 1950. Pp. [136].

This edition, limited to 1240 copies, is printed on handmade paper, with Caslon type used for the Introduction and Tallone type, here making its first appearance, for the text. The sonnets are reprinted from a facsimile of the Chatsworth copy but not in the original order. In the Introduction, the editor explains her belief that the patron of the Sonnets was Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; that his step-father, William Hervey, procured the manuscript for the publisher; and that the original order of the poems was altered before printing so as to put off the scent those who would (to change the figure) pluck out the heart of the mystery of the personal relationship. One of the purposes of this edition is to recover the original order and to disclose the stories so long concealed. Though rearranged in conformity with the editor's interpretation, the individual sonnets retain the number assigned them in 1609, with their original order in Thorpe's edition indicated in the first-line index that follows the title-page. This beautiful volume is the Countess de Chambrun's vigorous rejoinder to recent attempts to assign the Sonnets a very early date of composition, an incidental byproduct of which is the rejection of both the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Pembroke as the Patron.

J.G.M.

*The Comedies of Shakespeare. The Histories and Poems of Shakespeare. The Tragedies of Shakespeare.* London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. [xxxix] — 1128; [v] — 1214; [v] — 1313. 3 vols. \$45.00.

It has been difficult to find an attractive edition of Shakespeare to place on one's own library shelves or give to a friend. The present edition, first issued in 1911, helps solve the difficulty. Printed on india paper in clear type and bound in three-quarter calf, it is good to look at, convenient in size, and light in weight.

J.G.M.

*The Mystery of Hamlet King of Denmark, or, What We Will. A Tetralogy.* By PERCY MACKAYE. New York: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1950. Pp. [xiv] + 676. \$6.50.

The luxurious Memorial Edition of this book, issued at one hundred dollars the copy, was reviewed at length in *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* (XXIV, 85-90) upon its publication. Now the moderately priced trade edition is available. It is interesting and at times startling in design and typography, employing the same novel conventions that attracted attention to the limited edition.

J.G.M.

## QUERIES AND NOTES

### SIGMUND FREUD ON SHAKESPEARE

By RICHARD FLATTER

It was in Vienna, in the yet peaceful days of 1930 and 1932, that I received two letters from Professor Sigmund Freud.

The first is concerned with King Lear's mental state. Having finished the translation of the play, I had sent a copy of it to Prof. Freud and asked him whether, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries, he was in a position to determine the symptoms, still showing in the patient, and from them to diagnose his psychosis. As to the type of illness I ventured to put the question whether old Lear was not rather a case of hysteria. I received a letter which in translation reads as follows:

30.3.1930

Dear Dr. Flatter:

Many thanks for the copy of your translation of *King Lear* you have kindly sent me. It gave me the occasion to read that powerful work once more.

As to your question whether we are justified in regarding Lear as a case of hysteria, I should like to say that one has scarcely the right to expect the poet to present us with clinically perfect examples of mental illness. It should be enough if our instinctive reaction is nowhere upset and if what may be called our popular psychiatry allows us to follow in all his vagaries the person who is depicted as abnormal.

This is so in the case of Lear. We are not shocked to see that in his mortification he loses his contact with reality; nor that, clinging to the trauma, he indulges in fantasies of vengeance; nor that, in the extravagance of his passion, he storms and rages—although such behavior would disrupt the character of a consistent psychosis. I am not sure, though, whether such psychoses, mixed of affective clinging to the trauma and psychotic turning away from it, do not occur in real life often enough.

His quieting down and his normal reaction when realizing that he is safe in Cordelia's protection, do not seem to me to justify a diagnosis of hysteria.

Sincerely yours,  
Freud

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Two years later I sent Professor Freud my translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*. He acknowledged them with the following letter:

20.9.1932

Dear Dr. Flatter:

Thank you for sending me your translation of the *Sonnets*.

I confess my amazement at seeing them translated in such a fashion. Some of them read as if they were originals. And I know how difficult it is to render such brief poems adequately.

What you say in your letter as to the appreciation of the *Sonnets* seems

to me obsolete, by which I mean that there are no doubts any longer about their serious nature and their value as self-confessions. The latter point is, I think, accounted for by the fact that they were published without the author's co-operation and handed on after his death [*sic!*] to a public for whom they had not been meant.

The contents have been made use of to ascertain the poet's identity, which is still dubious. There lies in front of me a book—*Shakespeare's Sonnets and Edward de Vere*, by Gerald H. Rendall, London, John Murray, 1930. In it the thesis is put forward that those poems were addressed to the Earl of Southampton and were written by the Earl of Oxford. I am indeed almost convinced that none but this aristocrat was our Shakespeare. In the light of that conception the *Sonnets* become much more understandable.

Yours very sincerely,

Freud

Then there came 1938 and with it the annexation of Austria. Professor Freud went to England. So did I, and in London, in 1939, I once more wrote to him and asked permission for me to publish his letters if occasion arose. He most kindly gave his assent, but added that in retrospect his utterance about Lear's mental state did not appear to him to be very profound, nor indubitably correct either. He still was of the opinion, he wrote, that it would not do to call Lear a case of hysteria, but that he now conjectured "deeper personal connections of a nature which I have not expounded yet, nor wish to go into now."

Not long afterwards the great man was dead.

*Vineland, New Jersey*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece of the October issue is Thomas Morley's setting of "It was a Lover and his Lass," the only complete contemporary version of a "Shakespearean" song which is known to have survived to our day. Published in 1600, in Morley's *First Booke of Ayres*, it offers some interesting variants compared with the text of the song in *As You Like It* as first printed in the Folio of 1623. In addition to a few verbal changes, the Folio version places Morley's fourth stanza after the first, thus weakening the natural, or at least expected, development of the lyric. The use of this inferior version has led some to believe that this, too, is one of many songs which Shakespeare incorporated in his plays, and that he was possibly not the author of the words.

Members of the Shakespeare Association will note with regret the passing of Howard Lehman Goodhart, 2 East 55th Street, New York City. Mr. Goodhart, who became a Life Member of the Association in 1934 and contributed generously about the time of reorganization in 1950, was a lifelong collector of rare books and manuscripts. These became the basis of the Marjorie Walter Goodhart Medieval Library at Bryn Mawr College. Death occurred early in August.

### SHAKESPEARE INSTITUTE

A Shakespeare Institute, devoted to advanced study in Elizabethan literature, has been established in Shakespeare's native Stratford-upon-Avon. Its headquarters are situated almost opposite the Grammar School, the Guild Chapel and New Place, and close to the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre.

The Institute is part of the University of Birmingham, but it has its own independent staff. The Director is Professor Allardyce Nicoll; Professor C. J. Sisson is Senior Fellow and Assistant Director; and there are three other teaching Fellows—J. R. Brown, R. A. Foakes and E. Honigmann. Students may register for the M.A. or Ph.D. degrees of Birmingham University; in addition to such postgraduate students, independent research workers will be offered all available facilities.

In Stratford-upon-Avon, in Birmingham and in other nearby centers, ample and important material exists for the pursuing of research studies. Largely unexplored are the resources of the Birthplace Trust, whose archives include comprehensive Stratford records, Warwickshire manorial papers, and a rich store of background documents. Other large collections of archives, also awaiting close examination, are preserved in Warwick and in Birmingham. The Shakespeare Memorial Library (part of the Birmingham Reference Library) has the distinction of being one of the most complete of its kind; while it does not seek to rival similar specialized collections elsewhere in the purchase of rare books, its endeavor to assemble together all relevant publications issued throughout the world makes it a working collection absolutely unique. In

Stratford the combined libraries of the Birthplace Trust and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre are rich both in rare volumes and in historical and critical works. At the Institute itself full provision is made for the obtaining of reproductions of books and documents required by individual students.

The facts that the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre now extends its activities throughout the greater part of the year and that the Birmingham Repertory Theatre includes many "rare" plays in its annual programmes offer opportunity for association of academic study with the observation of plays presented on the stage. Every effort is made to relate the experience of those concerned with the production of Shakespeare's dramas in the theater to the consideration of problems being investigated by students of the Institute.

#### ANONYMOUS EXPERTS

Specialists in any field of scholarship are busy men, with countless demands upon their time, but it is a pleasure to record that whenever a manuscript submitted for publication in *Shakespeare Quarterly* has been referred to an expert in a particular field the response has been prompt and generous. "Not for fame or reward, . . . but in simple obedience to duty as they saw it," they have shared the fruits of their learning, advising the authors and assisting the Editorial Board in the selection of the best papers. In so doing, these scholars, who must of necessity remain anonymous, have earned the thanks of every member of the Shakespeare Association of America.

#### FURTHER HINTS TO CONTRIBUTORS

When an author quotes from Shakespeare or gives a reference to one of the plays, he owes it to his readers to specify the edition he has used.

Contributors are reminded that manuscripts submitted for publication should conform in every detail to the style sheet published in the April 1951 issue of PMLA.

#### SHAKESPEARE IN YUGOSLAVIA

A company of the British Drama League toured Yugoslavia from August 31 to September 9 at the invitation of the Yugoslav State Theatre, presenting Shakespeare in English. The group, consisting of amateur players, performed excerpts from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, *Hamlet*, and *Henry V* in the National Theatre in Belgrade and the Municipal Theatres in Zagreb and Ljubljana. The visit was organized by Edmund Cooper, Foreign Drama Secretary of the British Drama League. The company was directed by William Kendall.



## SHAKESPEARE ON THE ACADEMIC STAGE

Thanks to the alertness of Miss Vida K. Malik, of Detroit, a member of the Shakespeare Association of America, attention is directed to an account by Alastair Macpherson in *East Africa Annual* (Christmas 1950, pp. 123-127) of three performances by the native students of MAKERERE, South Africa. In 1948, a Shakespeare production was introduced as a compulsory part of the English literature syllabus, and *Julius Caesar* was selected. There were four or five out of doors performances. Over 2,000 persons attended the performances of *Richard II* in 1949. Five stills of this production illustrate Mr. Macpherson's article. The play scheduled for August 1950 was *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It was to be performed indoors on a newly equipped stage.

## SHAKESPEARE CLUBS AND STUDY GROUPS

At the end of 1950, THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES published its annual report, a Special Jubilee Number. The Society, of which Mr. Harry Thomas is president, was founded in 1950; the Hon. Secretary, Miss F. Gourlay, has served for fourteen years. Meetings are held on the third Tuesday of each month from February to November, and the year's activities seem to close with a Christmas party. Reference is made to the Society's library, to the awarding of prizes to students, and to the fact that a representative of the Society participated in the Stratford celebration of Shakespeare's Birthday. (Information received from Mr. Arthur Heine, Member of the Advisory Board.)

One of the largest and most active organizations on the campus of Brooklyn College, the largest liberal arts college in the United States, is the SHAKESPEAR CLUB. It meets two or three times a month, and membership is limited to students who have completed or are enrolled in a course in Shakespeare or Elizabethan literature. Programs consist of discussions of problems of Shakespeare scholarship and interpretation, reviews of current articles and books, studies of current Broadway productions, and reports, illustrated by colored slides or films, by students and faculty of trips to Stratford, London, and other places of Shakespearian interest. Scenes from plays are often performed by the Shakespeare Club Rehearsal Group under the direction of Professor Helen P. Roach of the Speech Department; Elizabethan dances are presented by students from the Departments of Physical Education; and Elizabethan songs and chamber music by the college chorus and string quartet. The Club takes full advantage of its location by sponsoring performances of Shakespeare's plays on Broadway, arrangements having already been made for Shakespeare's and Shaw's plays about Cleopatra which will feature Sir Laurence Olivier and Miss Vivien Leigh in December. The Club has arranged three exhibitions in the library and has presented chairs and books for the "Shakespeare Corner." The most recent achievement is the underwriting of an annual scholarship covering transportation, tuition, and maintenance for a student to attend the Shakespeare Summer School conducted at Stratford-upon-Avon by the University of Birmingham. The successful candidate is chosen by the Department of English on the basis of academic performance, personality, and extracurricular activities. The student officers for the fall term include Gerald Forman, President; Sandra Frechter, Vice President; Audrey Rein, Secretary; and Beverly Drucker, Treasurer. The Faculty Advisers are Professors Olive Henneberger (Founder), Eleanor Downing, Marion Osborn, and Margaret Wiley. Professor Henneberger welcomes direct correspondence with representatives of other organizations.



The STRATFORD CLUB of Cambridge, Massachusetts, is completing its twenty-fifth year. It was organized by Professor Frederick C. Packard of the School of Public Speaking at Harvard and Mrs. Sibyl Collar Holbrook,

former student of George Pierce Baker and George Lyman Kittredge. Meetings are held about once a month on a Sunday evening. Dress and refreshments are informal, and the plays are read aloud without action or costume. Until 1944, the versions were prepared by Mrs. Holbrook, who skilfully cut the texts to about 2400 lines, not too much for an evening's reading with one intermission. Papers about the plays are rigidly banned, but there is always much anecdote and reminiscing about current and past performances seen by the members. Among those drawn into the membership from neighbouring institutions have been faculty members and fellows from Harvard, Radcliffe, Tufts, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and, especially, Professor H. Earle Johnson of Clark University. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana was an enthusiastic member for some twenty years until his death in 1950. Miss Dora Kittredge continues the link with her illustrious father. The Club thinks of its activities as unpretentious, but recollection of its younger members who have formed an abiding love for Shakespeare's plays and of others who have gone out to found Shakespeare clubs in other places is a source of quiet satisfaction.

## CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT BERKELMAN, Professor of English and Secretary of the Faculty of Bates College, has taught the Shakespeare course there for twenty years. His article on Lincoln's knowledge of Shakespeare was written at Columbia University while he was on sabbatical leave.

Professor MATTHEW W. BLACK, of the University of Pennsylvania, is joint author of Shakespeare's *Seventeenth-century Editors* and editor of the Variorum edition of *Richard II*, now in the hands of the printer.

LILY B. CAMPBELL, Professor Emeritus of the University of California at Los Angeles, is the author of *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes* and *Shakespeare's Histories* and the editor of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, now regrettably out of print.

Professor WILLIAM D. DUNKEL has been Burroughs Professor of English at the University of Rochester since 1934.

In rapid succession, Dr. RICHARD FLATTER has published *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*, *Hamlet's Father*, and *The Moor of Venice*. He writes from the viewpoint of a man who has translated Shakespeare's poems and several of the plays into German.

Professor ALFRED HARBAGE is the author of several books, including two about Shakespeare (*Shakespeare's Audience* and *As They Liked It*), and one about his god-son, Sir William Davenant.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT is Professor of English and Head of the Department at New York University's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His recent handbook, *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays*, has been widely praised.

Professor R. C. SIMONINI, JR., who is head of the English Department at Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia, is the author of a number of articles dealing with the teaching of foreign languages in Elizabethan England.

Professor ROBERT M. SMITH, of Lehigh University, is too well known to readers of *SAB* and *SQ* to require introduction. Not all of them are aware of the fact that he records the changing ownership of all copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare and has published studies concerning the imprints and the preliminary matter of the Second Folio.

The name of EDGAR ELMER STOLL, Professor Emeritus of the University of Minnesota, is one of the most honored in Shakespeare scholarship. His books, including *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Poets and Play-*

*wrights, Shakespeare and Other Masters, Shakespeare Studies, and Shakespeare's Young Lovers*, his articles, and reviews are notable for their forthrightness and erudition.

Professor ERNEST A. STRATHMANN, of Pomona College, will be recognized as the author of *Sir Walter Raleigh*, reviewed in this issue of *SQ*. He was a contributing editor of the Variorum Edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

Miss ALICE VENEZKY, who is in the faculty of Hunter College and is associated with ANTA, is the author of *Pageantry on the Shakespearian Stage*, reviewed in this issue.

ROY WALKER, Esq., author of *The Time Is Out of Joint* and *The Time Is Free*, is the editor of *Theatre Newsletter*. He has lectured at Stratford-upon-Avon under the auspices of the British Council.

Professor GEORGE G. WILLIAMS, of Rice Institute, is by his own admission not a Shakespearian authority but a student of creative writing. His article is the outgrowth of an attempt "to see how Shakespeare went about the practical business of setting up a plot-structure upon which he could 'hang fine things.'" It should be kept in mind when reading Professor Una Ellis-Fermor's review in the forthcoming January issue of *SQ* of a recent lecture by Professor Hereward T. Price.

HAROLD S. WILSON, Professor of English at the University of Toronto, is, among other things, an authority on Edmund Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey.

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